Popular Perceptions of Scottishness: 1780-1850

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Abstract

This thesis examines what the word Scotland meant to Scottish people of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The answer to this question is sought through analysing how Scottish nationhood was constructed through the interaction of various narratives each representing a particular notion of Scottishness, using sources such as Scottish chapbooks, Sir Walter Scott's writings, academic historiography and the engravings distributed by the Royal Association of Promotion of Fines Arts in Scotland.

While the chapbook representation of Scottishness was based on the dialectics of the nation versus tyranny embodied by civil liberty, religious freedom and loyalism, aiming at achieving different ends, each representation of Scottishness shared the common purpose of legitimising their intention of participating in British politics through their version of the language of the nation. In contrast to this particular version of Scottishness, what was constructed as the notion of Scottishness amongst Scott's writings, academic historiography and engravings reflects the vision of their readers and viewers, mainly drawn from the landed elite and later from the Scottish bourgeoisie. For those readers and viewers, the notion of Scottish nationhood was used to legitimise the *status quo* of *de-facto* autonomy of Scotland within Britain self-governed by themselves.

These differences and varieties in the construction of Scottish nationhood amongst these sources demonstrate the multiplicity of Scottishness which reveals the nature of nation as well as class identity as fluid and situational. Such multiplicity can be understood in the relationship between nation and other identities, especially the dialectics of nation and class rather than by fixing national identity with a particular identity.

I, Kino Iwazumi, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 90,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted by in any previous application for a higher degree.

28th September, 2001

To my parents

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In the memory of my grandparents

'Until then I had thought each book spoke of the things, human or divine, that lie outside books. Now I realised that not infrequently books speak of books: it is as if they spoke among themselves.'

Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*

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Some notes on chapter five of this thesis. Materials in sections two to four and seven to eight in the chapter were partly based on my Phil thesis, 'The Union of 1707 in Scottish historiography: c. 1800-1914' (University of St Andrews, 1996).

Introduction

1

This study starts with one question: what did the word 'Scotland' mean to Scottish people of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries? In other words, the thesis will explore how the Scottish people of the given people perceived and constructed the notion of Scottish nationhood through the discourse of self-description. Posing this question, two further issues immediately arise: did all groups of the Scottish people share the same image of Scottishness, and did they always retain the same notion of Scottish nationhood? In order to answer these questions, it is best to start by examining the concepts of 'nation', 'national identity' and 'nationalism'.

For much of the twentieth century, the received wisdom in the historiography of Scotland's nationhood has been to regard Scotland of the post-1789 period as a case exceptional to the other European countries; Scotland stayed silent whilst much of Europe experienced 'full-blown nationalism'. This is usually ascribed to the historically particular situation in which Scotland was placed: Scotland did not have her own state after 1707 and throughout the modern age of nationalism.[1] For instance, Christopher Harvie observes:

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[1] C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689- c. 1830* (Cambridge, 1993), though he later changed this view. See, idem., 'The Strange Death of Scottish History revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, c. 1790-1914', *SHR*, LXXVI (1997), and 'Sentiment, race and revival: Scottish identities in the aftermath of Enlightenment', in L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (eds.) *A Union of Multiple Identities*, and *The British Isles, c. 1750- c. 1850* (Manchester, 1997), *British Identities before Nationalism Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999). A similar view is shared by M. G. H. Pittock, *Invention of Scotland: The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish*

> Scotland after 1707 wasn't the self-referential, Manichaean world of 'autistic' nationalism whose community is continually threatened by external enemies and internal traitors. Even 'absolute' nationalists were unobtrusive, wary of complex and morally ambiguous politics, of 'common' experiences- industrialisation and imperialism- generically similar but still markedly different from England's.[2]

Why was Scotland described as so exceptional and seemingly inferior to other countries?[3] The key hint is found in the term 'full-blown nationalism' - meaning nationalism aiming at building its own nation-state. Such a conceptualisation of nationalism comes from the studies of the 'modernist' school, here represented by Ernest Gellner.[4] He defines the main purpose of nationalism as political in nature attempting to make 'a nation and a state congruent in a given territory'. This nature of nationalism is emphasised by the vast body of works such as Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm.[5]

Apart from their emphasis on the political nature of nationalism aiming at holding a nation and a state in the same territory, the students of the modernist school locate the formation of a nation-state in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. For example, examining the definition of the word nation, which he means as a nation-state, in the dictionaries of various European languages, Hobsbawm argues:

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identity, 1638 to the present (London, 1991), and M. Fry, 'The Whig Interpretation of Scottish History' in I. L. Donnachie, and C. A. Whatley (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992).

[2] C. Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1994* (London, 1994 ed), p. 34. See also, T. Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London, 1981 ed), and idem., 'Scottish Identity: a cause unwon', *Études Éccosaises*, 1 (1992). As for the criticism of Nairn, for instance, C. Beveridge and R. Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture Inferiorism and the Intellectuals* (Edinburgh, 1989). The overview of the issues on Scottish inferiority is found in L. Cusick, 'Socttish Inferiority', *Scottish Affairs*, 9 (1994)

[3] Another example in this regard is found in R. Mitchison, 'Nineteenth Century Cultural Nationalism: The Cultural Background' in idem. (ed.), *The Roots of Nationalism: Studies in Northern Europe* (Edinburgh, 1980).

[4] E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983)

[5] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections in the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), and E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth and Reality*

> Given the historical novelty of the modern concept of 'the nation', the best way to understand its nature... is to follow those who began systematically to operate with this concept in their political and social discourse during the Age of Revolution, and especially, under the name of 'the principle of nationality' from about 1830 onwards.[6]

Benedict Anderson's oft-quoted concept of a nation as an 'imagined community' is again associated with modernity, as this 'imagined community' of nation, the boundaries of which match with those of the state, is brought out through the means of communication resulted from the combination of capitalism and technology.

However, is such a conceptualisation of nation and nationalism relevant to Scotland during the period? Did Scotland fit the modernist model? Recent writers have cast scepticism on this conceptualisation, such as in Morton's study of Scottish nationalism and the role of the middle classes in the mid-nineteenth century.[7] While he accepts the modernist argument on the timing of the nation-state formation, Morton argues that the role of civil society as the foci of self-governing in Scotland, which was controlled by the bourgeoisie in the mid-nineteenth century, made nationalism aiming to build a nation-state irrelevant:

> It was because Scottish civil society had advanced so far and so quickly, and it was because the new bourgeois social classes inherited a socio-economic position at a unique historical juncture vastly more favourable than that of any backward nationality, that there was no need for parliamentary nationalism.[8]

And as the following chapters of this thesis will demonstrate, this argument seems plausible. By not following the modernist camp, whereby nation and nationalism are

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(Cambridge, 1990)

[6] Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, p. 18.

[7] D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London, 1992), L. Paterson, *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1994), G. Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1860-1830* (East Linton, 1999).

[8] Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, p. 55.

defined in terms of political activities whose ultimate aim is the achievement of an independent Scottish nation-state, it will be seen that Scottish nationhood was pervasive in reach and vibrant in content.

If we reject the modernist definition of nation and nationalism, how can we define these terms? It is here that Anthony Smith's definition of these terms, whereby an ethnic community forms the essence of the nation, appears to be useful.[9] Instead of seeing the nation as a political construct, Smith sees the nation as the expansion of ethnic community or *ethnie* in Smith's words. Here the nation is deeply rooted although still fundamentally different from the necessity of a homeland and of a mass culture. While the nation must have both factors as its main proponents, what the *ethnie* needs is 'a link with a homeland' and 'a measure of solidarity among, at least, the elites'[10] Based on this difference between nation and *ethnie*, Smith defines the nation in the following terms:

> A named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.[11]

This definition of nation clearly separates the nation from the state. He emphasises a uniting function of nation as 'cultural and political bond' while the state consists of 'exclusively public institutions, differentiated from, and autonomous of, other social institutions and exercising a monopoly of coercion and extraction within a given

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[9] A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986), idem., *National Identity*(London, 1991) and idem., *The Nation in History Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover NH, 2000).

[10] Smith, *The Nation in History*, p. 65. He defines *ethnie* as 'a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of shared culture, a link with a homeland, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites'. (Ibid., p. 65.)

[11] Smith, *National Identity*, p. 14.

territory'.[12] As a result of this separation from the state, the constituents of the nation themselves are not fixed throughout history but are fluid and malleable. Furthermore, since national identity is a collective identity, rather than that of an individual, there are multiple versions of national identity which can come together to compete with one another to represent the nation.

At this point in the argument, it is essential to be aware that the very word nation is used in two different ways. The first way of using the word suggests that nation is defined in contrast to other nations, while the second way refers to the word nation in contrast to a small group of people who are, in fact, its members. As we will examine through empirical research in the following chapters, it was these two different ways of using the word which defined and redefined the notion of Scottish nationhood. At times, one way was preferred to the other, and the act of choosing one usage over the other was specifically configured by its user as well as the situation in which it was used. Such a fluid word reveals the uniting and divisive nature of the reality of the nation. When the word was used as 'opposed to other nations' - which unite its all members in contrast to other nations - this indeed unites all members under the name of the nation. Meanwhile, when the word is used in the second sense, it divides a group of members who are the majority of the nation from other minor groups. The demarcation line between majority members and minority groups in the same nation is also determined by how the word is used by and in what context.

Leah Greenfeld explains this double meaning of nation, uniting and dividing, when analysing how the word was used in history. According to her, the

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[12] Ibid., p. 14.

original meaning of the word nation takes its root from the Latin word *natio-* 'something born' and less frequently 'a group of foreigners by united place of origin'[13] The second meaning was later to develop into the idea of a community of students coming from the same country or to the 'the community of opinion and purpose'. From this point of view, Greenfeld sees the usage of the word nation in what she calls the 'zigzag pattern of semantic change', indicating that the pattern of semantic change is derived from each particular situation:

> The meaning of the original concept is gradually obscured, and the new one emerges as conventional. When the word is used again in a new situation, it is likely to be used in this new meaning, and so on and so forth.[14]

In other words, the process of defining and re-defining the idea of nation is bound to a specific situation which provides a code of regulations to define the idea.

Greenfeld pinpoints a revolutionary turn in the on-going process of semantic definition and re-definition of nation at a certain point and place in world history: early sixteenth-century England. In her opinion, it was at this point that the idea of nation, previously implying an elite, was extended to include the inhabitants of a country: nation became synonymous with 'people', especially a 'sovereign people'.[15] This is what Greenfeld sees as 'the emergence of the first nation in the world, in the sense in which the word is understood today, and launched the era of nationalism'. While this argument has its own significance, this transformation in the idea of nation has a particular implication equally important for the current study. While sovereignty was previously exercised by certain numbers of individuals, after the

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[13] L. Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge MA, 1992), p. 4. OED mentions the Latin meaning as 'breed, stock, race, nation' and the stem of *natio-* to be born.
[14] Ibid., p. 5.
[15] Ibid., pp.8-9, 29-35.

nation was redefined as a 'sovereign people', it was the people who belonged to the nation who came to exercise sovereignty.[16] As we will see in chapters two through to chapter seven, this notion of nation as a 'sovereign people' was employed by various groups of people in Scotland and drawn by a wide range of reasons in order to legitimise their political action, particularly when they felt their right to exercise sovereignty was violated by either other members of their nation or by other nations, or when they felt the necessity of advocating their political being in front of other members in Scotland or of other nations.

2

Thus far, we have come to have some ideas about the word nation. So how did the Scottish people of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries perceive and express their sense of nationhood? Identity is how one sees one's self and how one presents that vision to others, a presentation which is always related to how others see us.[17] This notion of identity is further complicated by the fact that national identity is collective rather than merely personal. In other words, there are different ways of expressing national identity. Indeed, as Richard Jenkins explains, subscribing to one particular branch of identity (*nominal* identity) does not signify that they practice this identity (*virtual identity*):

> It is possible for individuals to share the same nominal identity, and for that to mean very different things to them in practice, to have different consequences for their lives, for them to 'do' it differently.[18]

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[16] Ibid., p. 10-11, 36-44, 67-70.
[17] R. Jenkins, *Social Identity*(London, 1996), pp. 26-27.

How did the Scottish people of the given period choose and sometimes mix various branches of Scottish national identity and for what purposes? We will seek answers to this question by looking at one of Smith's key definitions of the make-up of a nation, historical memories, and do so through an analysis of different ways of 'narrating' these historical memories, and of different manners of understating and reacting to these narratives.[19] Chapter two will therefore discuss the application of narrative analysis to the construction of national identity in relation to theoretical issues as well as its actual application to various of stories of Scottish nationhood.

Two features of the nation seem to complicate the issue of examining how the Scottish people constructed their notion of Scottishness through the use of historical memories. Firstly, as we have discussed above, the word nation contained two ideas of nation. In particular, its second meaning - nation as the group of people in contrast to small groups within the same national boundaries - indicates that nation was used not exclusively in relation to other nations. Secondly, as we have seen above, unlike personal identity, national identity is a collective concept, constructed on various competing discourses including those of other discourses. Chapter seven will discuss how the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries' version of Scottish nationhood was constructed in relation to other competing identities, with

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[18] Ibid., p. 24.

[19] As for the distinction between history and memory, Pierre Nora's following explanation is useful: Memory is life, always embodied in living societies and as such in permanent evolution, subject to the dialectic and forgetting, unconscious of the distortions to which it is subject, vulnerable in various ways to appropriation and manipulation, and capable of lying dormant for long periods only to be suddenly reawakened. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. (P. Nora, General Introduction: Between Memory and History', in idem. (ed.), *Realms of Memory, Rethinking the French Past: vol. 1 Conflicts and Divisions*, A. Goldhammer (trans.), (NY. 1996), p. 3

As for differences between biological memory and historical memory and their relations to individual and collective memory, for instance see A. Oliverio, *Ricordi individuali, memorie collettive* (Turin, 1994), pp. 6-7.

particular emphasis being given to their class differences.

Thus, the aim of this study is to analyse the multiple nature of Scottishness which was constructed and understood through different narratives/stories of Scottish nationhood. To deepen our understanding further, this multiplicity of Scottishness will also be examined in relation to other personal identities within diverse historical circumstances.

3

The sources used for this study of examining the multiplicity of Scottishness are, on the whole, categorised into three genres. From chapter one to chapter four, chapbooks will be used, while chapter five deals with Sir Walter Scott's literary and non-literary-works as well as the academic historiography of the mid-nineteenth century. Chapter six use sources which are completely different, in terms of form, from what is elsewhere presented: the engravings distributed by the Royal Association of Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland. These three main bodies of sources are chosen to demonstrate how such evidence reveals the various facets of Scottishness being specific to a particular historical circumstance and use. Although the methodology applied to these sources in relation to the issue of national identity will be explained in the following chapters (chapters one, two and six), there is one common point which will be applied to each of them. That is, each narrative of Scottish nationhood is the reflection of the society in which the narrative was 'read', while each narrative formed its reader/viewer's notion of Scottish nationhood. In other words, the process of constructing Scottish nationhood was not the unilateral

process of the narrative forming their readers' idea, but was the bilateral process in which the narrative and its readers influenced one other.[20]

4

There are two points which also determine the direction of this study. Firstly, the notion of Scottish nationhood, which we will explore throughout the following chapters, will be understood in terms of its relation to the concept of Britishness. Since the publication of Linda Colley' seminal study of Britishness between 1707 and the 1830s, historians have been involved in lively debates over the issue of Britishness and its relations to its four nations.[21] The main issue here seems to be the nature of Britishness in terms of its relations to these four nations.[22] While the anglo-centric view of British history is losing its attraction amongst commentators, some historians tend to see British history as that of the interactions amongst four nations rather than to see British history - particularly after 1707 - as the interactions between Britain and four nations as well as the interactions amongst four nations.[23] More recent accounts of British history take the last view.[24] In this study,

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[20] This point is further explained in chapter one referring to Peter Burke's theorisation of language and its relation to society. See, P. Burke, P. Burke, 'Introduction', in P. Burke and R. Porter, *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 4 and 11-14.

[21] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London, 1996 ed.). There is large of reviews of *Britons*. Among them, there are a couple of reviews written from a Scottish perspective. For instance, see J. D. Young, 'Socialism, The Scottish Identity and Linda Colley', *Cenrastus*, 49 (1994/5). More balanced views are found in B. Crick, 'Essays on Britishness', *Scottish Affairs*, 2 (1993).

[22] L. Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: an argument', M. O' Dea and K. Whelan (eds.), *Nations and nationalisms: France, Britain, Ireland and the eighteenth century context* (Oxford, 1995).

[23] For instance, Gerald Newman's study of English nationalism in the Hanoverian period barely touches upon the issues of England with other nations in Britain. G. Newman, *The Rise of English nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (London, 1987). As for the so-called Four nations theory, see H. Kearney, *The British Isles: a history of four nations* (Cambridge, 1989).

[24] The list is expanding, but examples are found in R. Samuel, 'British Dimensions: 'Four Nations

Scottishness will be discussed in the British context. By so doing, we will find how the multiplicity of Scottishness was also constructed through various perceptions of Britishness which were, in turn, constructed in relation to other identities and to each particular historical conjuncture.

Secondly, because of the nature of the word nation outlined above, we will examine the multiplicity of Scottishness in relation to other identities. Here, a special emphasis is placed on that of class. Chapter seven will focus on the recent historiographical debates on the issue of class in modern British history as well as the relationship between class and nation. However, such an attempt is not to present the process of defining and re-defining Scottishness as anchored in the master narrative of class. Rather, as the recent historiography of class history in modern Britain suggests, class will be treated as one of the competing identities which was hooked into, just as national identity was, and is: class was as fluid and situational as nation.[25] Accordingly, this study will demonstrate that the notion of Scottish nationhood was also defined and re-defined through the dialectics of national and class identities.

Although this study is an attempt to examine the multiplicity of Scottishness, there are some limitations in it. Firstly, whereas the multiplicity was examined through the Scottish nation's relation to other identities, such as Britain and class, there were other important identities which are left out of the equation. They include gender, regionalism, Catholicism, immigration and the formation and

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history', *History Work Shop Journal*, 40 (1995) J. Connolly, 'Varieties of Britishness Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the Hanoverian state', A. Grant and K. J. Stringer in *Uniting the Kingdom? : the making of British history* (London, 1995), A. Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832* (Basingstoke, 1998), M. G. H. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789*(Basingstoke, 1997) and idem., *Celtic identity and the British image* (Manchester, 1999).

[25] For the Historiographical account of class in modern British history, see Section two in Chapter seven.

disintegration of Empire. Because of the significance of these identities, another study is vitally essential to give them due weight. In particular, however constructed or 'real', the Highlands need more attention in terms of examining this multi-facet nature of Scottishness. Secondly, this study concentrates on the construction of Scottishness in relation to Britishness. This means that the issue of Scottishness in relation to the other three nations is barely touched upon. For instance, the study of the Scottish-themed chapbooks in Ulster would provide a valuable insight to the multiplicity of Scottishness. Thirdly, the scarcity of source materials in the authorship and readership of chapbooks leads us to present a tentative picture of how Scottish chapbooks were produced and read. As chapter one will point out, part of the problem is derived from the 'open' and 'informal' nature of chapbooks. While this allows us to consider the readership as more open to various sectors of society, it prevents us from examining who exactly read chapbooks and for what reasons. The greater study of chapbooks and more generally of popular culture is equally eagerly awaited.

5

This thesis is divided into three parts in terms of its structure. Chapters one to four will examine the background information on chapbooks and how the notion of Scottish nationhood was constructed through the Scottish chapbooks of the late-eighteenth and the early-nineteenth centuries. This is followed by two chapters (five

and six) which analyse Scottishness defined and re-defined in three cultural forms: Sir Walter Scott's writing, the Scottish academic historiography of the mid-nineteenth century, and the engravings of the Royal Association of Promotion for the Fine Arts in Scotland. The final chapter will be an attempt to understand the fluidity and multiplicity of Scottishness derived from the inter-relations among varieties of Scottishness constructed among the sources examined through chapters two to six.

Chapter one will 'contextualise' Scottish chapbooks in Scotland between 1770 and 1850. In so doing, the first part will deal with the issues surrounding the concept of popular culture. Instead of seeing popular culture as the domain which was exclusive to one particular group, the populace, the 'open' nature of Scottish popular culture will be emphasised. This will lead us to suggest reading Scottish chapbooks not in terms of what was written but of how they were read. This is also related to the point that while chapbooks were the reflection of the readers' worldview, their worldview was also formed through reading the chapbooks. The second part will be a tentative attempt to understand what was written in the Scottish chapbooks of the given period as well as to how the chapbooks were written and printed in Scotland through two case studies of chapbooks writers/printers, Dougal Graham and George Miller. Although these case studies might present a partial picture of the production of Scottish chapbooks, other sources - such as an examination of the list of chapbook printers - will complement this work and delineate a rough chronology of the production of chapbooks between 1770 and 1850.

The first part of chapter two will provide the analytical tools with which this study examines how Scottish nationhood was constructed through the story of the

Scottish nation. In the second part, this technique of narrative analysis will be applied to the story of the Battle of Bannockburn written in three different narrative genres: a ballad, an informal account and an academic history. The analysis will reveal that the first two narrative genres in the chapbook form described the Scottish victory at Bannockburn as that of the Scottish nation embodied by the concept of liberty against the tyrannical King Edward II, rather than praising Robert Bruce as 'the' hero of Scottish nation. The reason for this will be sought by examining other biographical chapbooks of Robert Bruce. These chapbooks will demonstrate that it was Bruce's ambiguous attitudes to Sir William Wallace's campaign against Edward I which did not give Bruce the full status as 'the' national hero of the Scottish nation. On the other hand, the chapbook account of the life of Wallace will demonstrate that he was the national hero who made a tragic attempt to liberate the Scottish nation from the hands of the tyrannical King Edward I. Meanwhile, Scotland's battles and her victories in both the Bruce and Wallace chapbooks were presented as being against tyranny rather than the English nation. This will be partly explained by the notion of Scottishness constructed through those chapbooks. The concept of the Scottish nation embodied by liberty was based on the dialectics of nation versus tyranny.

The notion of the Scottish nation as Scottish liberty against tyranny was also found in the chapbooks concerned with the late-seventeenth century Covenanters, which will be examined in chapter three. However, while Scottish liberty was constructed as civil in the former, the latter attempts were to describe the Presbyterian church as the embodiment of Scottish liberty. Meanwhile, the Covenanter chapbooks were ambiguous about their attitudes to England. The

religious situation in eighteenth-century Scotland will provide some answer to this ambiguity, while this will be partly explained by the English Wilkites' onslaught against the Scottish nation as to the question of the ancient and native concept of Scottish liberty. In retrospect, the construction of Scottish nationhood based on the ancient and native concept of liberty through the Bruce, Wallace and the Covenanter chapbooks were the Scottish nation's answer to such onslaught.

Apart from some notable exception such as Thomas Muir, Scottish radicalism of the period between the 1790s and 1820s was essentially British orientated, and it demanded reform of the old 'corrupt' British state along with other British radicals rather than aimed at building an independent Scottish republic. Their voice was articulated in the language of a nation embodied by liberty against the tyranny of the British state so as to legitimise their political activity. Through this particular conceptualisation of Scottish nationhood, both Scottish and English symbols of liberty became interchangeable as British. However, the Covenanters had little space to be commemorated as a British symbol of liberty because of the exclusive nature of Scottishness embodied by Presbyterianism and anti-prelacy. The radical language of nation used to legitimise their political action was perceived as a threat to the propertied classes in the conservative chapbooks. In this sense, the conservatives withdrew from the language of nation and instead redefined the nature of radicalism by drawing a line between the propertied and the unpropertied.

Chapter four will firstly look at the sense of otherness found in the Scottish chapbooks of the period. This starts with Dougal Graham's account of the Jacobite rebellion in 1745-46. Unlike Walter Scott's famous romanticisation of the Jacobites and the Highlands, Dougal essentially treated them as Scotland's 'other'. This sense

of otherness concerning the Highlands was also found throughout the period. Meanwhile, the chapbooks of the alleged massacre of Protestants by Catholics in Ireland in 1641 and of Lord George Gordon demonstrate that a strong hostility towards Catholicism was rife. The second part of that chapter will focus on the loyalist chapbooks during the height of the Napoleonic War. Napoleon became the tyrant who threatened the liberty of both Scotland and Britain, while British unity was emphasised by the amicable relations between the four nations. The significant point, here, is that while radical patriotism and loyalism were at the both ends of a political spectrum, the notion of Scottish nationhood was constructed on the same dialectics of nation embodied by liberty and tyranny and by using the same chronicle of British liberty. Because they were sharing the same chronicle, the originally English symbols of liberty (such as the Norman Yoke) could be used in Scotland, too. This compatibility of the language of nation also revealed that radicalism and loyalism shared the common aim of participating in politics through opposite means. This is particularly pronounced in the chapbook version of Robert Burns's song 'The British Volunteers'. While the song was written in praise of the Volunteers, the song ended with a reminder of the vital importance of the people in nationhood along with the monarch. It was such sharing in the language of nation and of the same aim of achieving participation in politics that made the British state suspicious about some of loyalist language of nation. The state was conspicuous by its absence from this loyalist language of nation.

Chapter five will deal with the question of how the notion of Scottishness was constructed through Scott's writings and the mid-nineteenth century Scottish historiography. While Scott succeeded in resuscitating the Jacobites and the

Highlands in his notion of Scottishness, they belonged to the realm of the past which did not have any political impact on the British present. Scott's political and social background seems to have had an equal importance to his intellectual pedigree in terms of the construction of Scottishness. Scott was part of the Scottish Tory landed elite, who exercised their power to govern Scotland through de-facto autonomy created originally by the Union of 1707. Accordingly, for Scott the notion of Scottishness also meant sustaining the *status quo* against both the Whig-led enfranchisement movement and the centralisation of the British state, which were articulated in his *Visionary* and *The Letters of Malachi Malagrowther*. Scott's historical writing is also important in the sense that he succeeded the English Whig historiography through his denial of the notion of ancient Scottish liberty, which was at the centre of Scottish nationhood found in both radicalism and loyalism through chapbooks.

While historians Patrick Fraser Tytler and John Hill Burton inherited Scott's historiographical legacy, they departed from Scott in terms of the methods of historical research and writing. Unlike Scott, Tytler and Burton wrote Scottish history based on the meticulous reading of historical evidence without resorting to literary frills. Meanwhile, the day-to-day business of governing Scotland was now transferred to the hands of the bourgeoisie through their networks of Boards of control, town and county councils and voluntary associations, forming the political structure of Scotland's de-facto autonomy which was left alone by the British state for much of the nineteenth century. This led the members of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (1852-56) to formulate their nationalism as aiming for the betterment of Scotland's governance within the framework of the

British state and to do so by correcting the encroachment by England on Scottish cultural symbols rather than demanding for an independent Scottish nation-state. Burton's *History of Scotland* appealed to those members, because (as we shall see) Burton provided the mid-nineteenth century Scottish nationalism with what was a suitable historical legitimation.

Chapter six will analyse how this construction of Scottishness was visualised and institutionalised by examining the activities of the Royal Association of the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland (the RAPFAS). In the first part, the process of visualising the image of nationhood will be conceptualised as the interaction between the artists and their viewers. This was the especially the case for the engravings distributed by the RAPFAS, as the reports of the committee of the management reveal the members' deep involvement with determining what images of Scotland should be distributed among its members. The content of the visualisation of Scottishness among the RAPFAS engravings will be examined in the second part of this chapter. Five repeated images such as the Scottish landscape, the Highlanders, an isolated castle under storm, 'cultivated' scenery and social observation which were much in accordance with Scott's formulation of a romanticised vision of Scottishness. While Scotland was romanticised by its picturesque landscape, the engravings do not evoke any acts of politicisation through their construction of Scottish nationhood, as found in the chapbook version of the language of nation. The third part of this chapter will show that such visualisation of Scottishness was partly constructed by the members of the RAPFAS through their committee of management. Like other voluntary associations in Edinburgh, the RAPFAS consisted mainly of the urban bourgeoisie and was, in turn managed by

these élites. In this sense, what the engravings reveals is that this visual image of Scottishness was constructed by and influenced the Scottish urban bourgeoisie.

The first part of chapter seven will delineate the notion of Scottish nationhood as constructed in the chapbooks from the age of radicalism, showing that the language of nation against tyranny within a British framework was much alive during the Reform Bill era. Indeed, it will show that the chapbooks of the mid-nineteenth century conveyed an image of Scottishness similar to the depoliticised and romanticised vision of Scottishness found in Scott and the RAPFAS engravings. Such a fundamental transformation of the notion of Scottishness in the chapbooks is explained in the transformation of the people who used them. In the second part, the recent historiography of the history of class will be examined. While this study does not accept all the points made by historians such as Patrick Joyce and Gareth Stedman Jones, their emphasis on the fluidity and situational nature of class identity - instead of placing class as the master narrative of British society in the given period - will become a useful tool to understand the multiplicities which comprised the contemporary notion of Scottish nationhood. This will lead us to suggest that Scottish nationhood during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries was defined and redefined according to its users and the specific time and place of its construction. Meanwhile, this process of definition and re-definition was also based on the relationship between nation and other identities, and that one of the most important of which was the dialectic of nation and class.

The next chapter will look at the theoretical issues concerning popular culture and chapbooks as well as the production of Scottish chapbooks providing some chronological account.

Chapter 1

The Social History of Chapbooks

1

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. In the first section, the chapter attempts to define the nature of chapbooks and will give special attention to the context for the growth in their publication in Scotland. The analysis is divided into several stages. The nature of the popular culture which is likely to have had a considerable influence on the nature of the chapbooks is a central point which requires examination. Moreover, the received wisdom in the study of this subject seems always to define popular culture as that belonging to the domain of the coherent and solid social group termed the 'populace', and to define it as the antithesis of elite culture. However, as we examine the actual content of chapbooks in chapters two to four, we find that such a theorisation of popular culture does not explain many of the issues which arise from a study specifically of the Scottish chapbooks. Indeed, it will be seen that these chapbooks did not necessarily belong to any particular social group. These points lead us to cast doubt on any simple conceptualisation of popular culture. Instead of locating popular culture in terms of a rigid diametrical opposition to the culture of the elite, it will be suggested that popular culture should be seen in more flexible and malleable terms. Such an approach will be applied in order to locate the notion of chapbooks in the Scottish context in the later chapters. Here, however, it will be suggested that the approach to take is to 'read' the content of chapbooks, not as a mere reflection of what was written, but as the container of what *could* be

interpreted, and that this was something which varied according to the readers of these chapbooks. In other words, while chapbooks offered a particular understanding of the subject, such an understanding was also regulated by the conventions and cultural milieu of the particular readers. This seems to have a marked relevance to the study of how the notion of Scottishness was constructed in those chapbooks, as will be demonstrated in the following three chapters.

The second section will also provide a rough chronology of the publishing history of chapbooks in Scotland between the 1770s and the 1850s. While this period includes the rising popularity of chapbooks as well as their decline in Scottish society, this chronology also coincided with a particular construction of Scottishness, as the following chapters (chapters two to four and seven) will demonstrate. This is followed by some tentative insights into the question of authorship, and the distribution of these chapbooks, although the difficulty in fixing a definitive picture of these issues will be pronounced because of the scarcity in sources which was in part caused by the way chapbooks were produced and sold.

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In Britain, the nature of popular culture in both the early modern and modern periods has been the focus of heated debates amongst historians from different camps, especially since the publication of Peter Burke's seminal study on popular culture in early-modern Europe.[1] Based on Antonio Gramsci's conceptualisation, Burke defines popular culture as 'the culture of the non-elite, the "subordinate classes"'.[2] Although Burke's concept of popular culture is not confined to the dialectics of the elite and the populace, and is not so monolithic and fixed as his definition implies, his concept encompasses some setbacks. First of all, is it possible to envisage a popular culture which would be ubiquitous and would unite 'subordinate classes' from various backgrounds including subdivisions based around region, gender and occupation?[3] In particular, in relation to the main theme of this thesis, historians have to deal with the complication that eighteenth-century 'British' popular culture was made up of

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[1] P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978, Aldershot), and D. Hall, 'Introduction', in S. L. Kaplan, *Understanding Popular Culture Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, 1984), p. 10. As for the brief summary on the issue, see T. Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture' in idem., (ed.), *Popular Culture in England* (Basingstoke, 1995) as well as B. Reay, *Popular Cultures in England 1550-1750* (Harlow, 1998), especially, pp. 1-2 and 198-223. There are countless studies using Gramsci's theory, for instance, see S. Hall, 'Notes on deconstructing "the popular"', in R. Samuel (ed.) *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London, 1981), p.227:
The changing balance and relations of social force throughout that history reveal themselves, time and again, in struggles over the forms of the culture. Capital had a stake in the culture of the popular classes because the constitution of a whole new social order around capital required a more or less continuous, if intermittent, process of re-education, in the broadest sense.

[2] P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, p.1. According to Burke, culture is defined as 'a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic formers (performances, artefacts) in which they are expressed or embodied'.

[3] R. Mayer, 'Nathaniel Crouch, Bookseller and Historian: Popular Historiography and Cultural Power in Late Seventeenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27 (1993-94), p.394:
Focusing too narrowly on the issue of hegemony can obscure exchanges that take place between high and low in which ordinary women and men are not so much resisting or submitting to the dominance of high culture for their own purposes.

component nations with their own popular culture which was clearly different from other 'national' popular cultures.

Secondly, it seems difficult as well as futile to explore a 'pure' form of popular culture, that is to say, a popular culture which was not influenced at all by cultures supposedly belonging to other social groups. Some historians, especially from the Marxist camp, regarded the period between 1500 and 1800 as the decline of popular culture or the contamination of popular culture by elite culture. For instance, the French historian Robert Muchembled argued that eighteenth-century French popular culture was an elite organ for propaganda to quell popular discontent. He comments on French chapbooks, thus:

> [It] becomes difficult to believe that this literature could be anything other than a disorderly popularization of the principal themes of learned culture, mixed with bits and pieces of traditional popular culture.[4]

Even more extreme, the Irish historian Niall Ó Ciosáin argues that having withdrawn from popular culture which had been shared with the lower strata, the elites disdained coarseness and vulgarity and that this led to a desire to control popular culture for their own convenience and which, finally, was manifest in their antiquarian and folkloric interest.[5]

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[4] R. Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France*, L. Cochrane (trans.), (Baton Rouge, 1985). Pointing out that the void created by the repression of popular culture by the elite was filled with a "mass" culture towards the mid-seventeenth century, he argues " this 'mass culture', spread by popular imagery and peddlers' literature, constituted a sort of intermediary language between the language of letters and that of the humble, a language that borrowed part of its vocabulary from popular culture, but that owed its syntax to learned culture". (ibid. p. 279.) Muchembled seems to take his theorisation of popular culture from another French historian Robert Mandrou. R. Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux 17e et 18e siècles* (Paris, 1985)

[5] N. Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750-1850* (Basingstoke, 1997), p.4 and passim.

Some scholars in oral literature take this line of argument further. According to their findings, an oral culture which was essentially located in the domain of the rural populace was contaminated once it was transferred to the written form, a medium belonging intrinsically to the elites. Furthermore, because of their emphasis upon the communal authorship of oral tradition, they came to believe that oral tradition was the product of an organically formed community situated in the isolated countryside, where change in the way of oral performance was hard to find.[6] Oral tradition was the artistic production of ordinary people - ignorant but honest - and it was created in the purity of the rural community and preserved from the impurity of urban culture. Accordingly, urbanisation and industrialisation, almost simultaneously taking place in Europe during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, were blamed by these scholars for destroying the once tightly knit communities which produced folk literature/oral traditions.[7] The destruction of community was the

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[6] For instance, David Buchan takes this type of approach in his book analysing social background of the balladry in eighteenth century north-east Scotland. See, D. Buchan, *Ballad and Folk* (London, 1972). Robert Darnton also emphasises the motionless nature of the pre-1789 French rural society in order to generalise the contexts of French 'folk' tales. Darnton believes that this was the main factor which formed Frenchness, which remained throughout history, in these tales. See, 'Peasants Tell Tales: The Meaning of Mother Goose', in idem, *The Great Cat Massacre and other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London, 1988). Against Darnton's assertion that he could trace Frenchness in peasant literature, Chartier argues Darnton's task is to combine 'two purposes generally considered incompatible: understanding the radical foreigness of the behaviour and thought of people of three centuries ago and distinguishing a lasting French identity in that alien world.' R. Chartier, 'Text, Symbols and Frenchness. Historical Uses of symbolic Anthropology', in R. Chartier, *Cultural History. Between Practices and Representations*, L. Cochrane (trans.) (Cambridge, MA, 1988), p. 95. Furthermore, Darnton's study lacks a viewpoint that Frenchness and French nation indeed was also historically and culturally constructed rather than ahistorical and intrinsic to French nationhood. The revisionist view to this understanding of the nature of 'folk narrative' is found in R. B. Bottigheimer, 'Fairy tales, folk narrative research and history', *SH*, 14 (1993). Bottigheimer suggests to 'read' these narratives in relation to a specific historical context.

[7] This notion of destruction of folk community seems to have a particular significance in Scottish historiography, which has regarded Scottish history as a series of noble failures. For example, Marinell Ash partly argues that this destruction of folk (or ballad) community was caused by what she calls the 'death of Scottish history' in the 1850s. (cf., Ash, *Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1980).) She appears to assume n that while Scottish indigenous cultural tradition was essentially rural, newly emerging Scottish urban culture in the Lowlands was somehow phoney and imported from elsewhere. For a similar argument but from different ideological position, see P. H.

beginning of the contamination of the once purely plebeian nature of the oral tradition.[8]

Ruth Finnegan is sceptical of the series of concepts so far used, in particular the 'communal' origin of oral tradition and the folk/ballad community.[9] As she argues, there hardly existed such a community, and usually this communal theory is based on a postulation that an oral tradition comes from a completely illiterate society that was original and pure. In the context of early-modern Europe, it is rather difficult to find a completely illiterate society, even in a rural area. As Rab Houston's study on literacy suggests, even in an overwhelmingly illiterate area, there was at least one person who had some measure of literacy skill and who could read out articles in front of other illiterate people.[10] The pure oral nature of oral tradition hardly existed by the age of Sir Walter Scott. The episode of the mother of James Hogg deploring the contamination of orality is one thing.[11] However, there was no assurance that she was typical of folk culture - completely illiterate and keeping pure oral mind. Ian Olson and John Morris find out in their study of the eighteenth century

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Scott, 'Last Purely Scotch Age', in D. Gifford (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 3 (Aberdeen, 1988)

[8] William McCarthy seems to postulate the whole Scottish society in the early-eighteenth century as this type of democratic and static community where oral managed a space to survive. Then, he suggests that there was a process of polarisation of Scottish society- radicalised proletariat and bourgeois. As radicalised workers were put to rout in the 1820s by their masters supported by the English legal system, balladry ceased to function as the live experience of folk culture, and instead it became the object of the collection by bourgeois scholars. (W. B. McCarthy, 'The Polarisation of Scots Society and Ballad Collecting in the early Nineteenth Century', in J. M. Kirk and C. Neilands (eds.) *Images, Identities and Ideologies* (1994)

[9] R. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry, Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Bloomington, 1992 ed.). A similar views are found in G. Bennet, 'Folklore Studies and the English Rural Myth', *Rural History*, 4 (1993), and J. S. Bratton, *The Victorian Popular Ballad* (Totowa, NJ, 1975), p. 7.

[10] R. A. Houston, *Scottish literacy and the Scottish identity: illiteracy and society in Scotland and northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1985), ch. 6, and R. Loeber and M. Stouthamer-Loerber, 'Fiction available to and written for cottagers and their children', in B. Cunningham and M. Kennedy, *The Experience of Reading: Irish Historical Perspectives* (Dublin, 1999).

[11] 'There war never ane o'ma sangs prentit them yoursel', an'no for reading; but ye hae spoilet them awthegither. They were made for singing an' no for reading; but ye hae broken the charm now, an' they'll never be sung mair.' (Quoted in Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, p. 160.)

Scottish songs that it was 'the romantic modern idea of folksong' which ignored that those so-called traditional songs were, in fact, mainly based on printed texts.[12] In this sense, Finnegan's assertion that oral tradition is the product of mixing literate and oral cultures appears more plausible.

The question of the purity of the oral mind leads us to another controversy about whether there was a distinct difference between oral and literate minds. Against Ruth Finnegan, there are group of scholars such as Milman Parry, Albert Lord and Walter Ong who have discovered the ingenious nature of oral thinking.[13] For instance Lord, after substantial fieldwork in Yugoslavia, found a distinct difference when composing oral poetry to poetry composition produced under what was a prevailingly written culture.[14] Defining orality and written texts as 'mutually exclusive', he finds the difference in the amount of 'formulaic' elements in both styles:

> An *oral* text will yield a predominance of clearly demonstrable formulas, with the bulk of reminder 'formulaic', and a small number of nonformulaic expressions. A *literary* text will show a predominance of nonformulaic expressions, with some formulaic expressions, with some formulaic, and very few formulas.[15]

Ong, drawing from the academic inheritance of his predecessors Parry and Lord, attempts to explain the difference between orality and literary in terms of the psychodynamics operating in both cultural milieus. While Ong defines orality as 'open' and co-operative, a literary based culture (such as ours) is projected as

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[12] I. A. Olson and J. Morris, 'Charles Leslie's 1745 Song: 'McLeod's Defeat at Inverury', *Aberdeen University Review*, LVIII,4th series, no. 204 (2000)., p. 325. As for the relationship between oral tradition and printed text, see also J. Morris, 'A Bothy Ballads and its Chapbook Source', in P. Isaac and B. Mokay (eds.), *The Reach of Print Making, Selling and Using Books* (Winchester, 1998).
[13] M. Parry, *The making of Homeric verse: the collected papers of Milman Parry*(Cambridge, 1971)
[14] A. B. Lord., *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA, 1960), ch. 6, and also see idem., 'The Nature of Oral Poetry' in J. M. Foley (ed.), *Oral Tradition in Literature* (Columbia MI, 1986).
[15] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 129-30.

'closed' and individualistic.[16]

There are, however, several points which should be handled with care. Firstly, Ong's theoretical framework is based on the neat dichotomy of orality and literate culture. Although such a situation cannot be inconceivable, the early modern European society was, as we saw, the co-habitation of literate and illiterate people.[17] In his diachronic description of oral-literate shift, Ong does not explain about the mentality (or psychodynamics) of this 'limbo' situation. Secondly, Ong also, if implicitly, shows his sorrow for the 'loss of oral mind', in a manner similar to other romantic scholars on the contamination and destruction of 'folk' literature.[18] While Ong's study is suggestive for the value of content analysis of oral poetry, excessive emphasis on the difference between oral and literate does not fit the situation during the period in question: the relationship between traditional ballads (of supposedly oral composition) and broadside ballads was not found to be one where the former was contaminated by the latter, but, rather, a relationship of co-existence.[19] David Buchan's study, for instance, demonstrates that while much of Scotland's traditional repertoire was printed in broadside form, performers used broadside ballads to extend their repertoire beyond the traditional favourites.[20] Although textuality expressed in a written form is different from that which is oral literature, despite that both are concerned with the same content, it does not necessarily mean that the former 'contaminated' the latter. Rather, as Adam Fox has argued in his study of

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[16] W. J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy, The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982).
[17] R. A. Houston, *Literacy in early modern Europe: culture and education 1500-1800* (London, 1988)
[18]On the other hand, he duly points out the awkward contradiction in a term such as oral literature (for example Finnegan uses this term frequently), as he emphasises the acute difference between orality and literary.
[19] Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland*, pp. 190 and 202.
[20]Mrs Brown whose repertoire was extensively used by David Buchan in *Folk and Ballad,* is a typical example: born as a daughter of a professor at Aberdeen University, her repertoire was drawn from her

seventeenth-century oral and literate culture, early-modern society saw the cohabitation of both written and oral cultures, and each was the necessary component in the other:

> There was no necessary antithesis between oral and literary forms of communication and preservation; the one did not have to destroy or undermine the other. If anything, the written word tended to augment the spoken, reinventing it and making it anew, propagating its contents, heightening its exposure, and ensuring its continued vitality, albeit sometimes in different forms.[21]

Another problem in the studies of Robert Mandrou and Robert Muchembled is that they concentrated on analysing what was written in these chapbooks rather than how they were read.[22] One recent study of consumption in history suggests that the act of consumption is not passive but an act which generates another meaning through consumption.[23] Likewise, the act of reading is not merely the passive act of taking-in and absorbing the information from written material, as Bernaddette Cunningham points out:

> Books come to life when they are read. Each reader, each listener to a text being read, responds to in the light of his or her own prior knowledge. Individual responses are socially conditioned by communal norms for reading various kinds of texts, so that a newspaper or popular novel, for example, is not read in the same way as the Bible or a devotional text.[24]

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mother and grandmother; but she could also refer to written text.

[21] A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), p. 5.

[22] Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland*, p. 19.

[23] S. Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720-1840', *P&P* 145 (1994). See also, C. Campbell, 'Understanding traditional and modern patterns of consumption in eighteenth-century England: a character-action approach' in J. Brewer and R. Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London. 1993). This issue is further discussed in chapter six.

[24] B. Cunningham, 'Introduction: the experience of reading' in Cunningham and Kennedy, *The Experience of Reading*, p. 2.

Peter Burke has recently called for drawing attention to how people 'consumed' culture, 'whatever is received is received according to the manner of the receiver'.[25] On the other hand, Burke also argues that this act of reception is not carried out on an arbitrary basis but carried out according to a certain set of rules, or what he terms 'schema', being able to shape a receiver's attitudes to the new by deciding to adopt, adapt and repudiate the content of this newly received culture:

> From the "emic" point of view, what the historian needs to investigate is the logic underlying these appropriations and combinations, the local reasons for these choices.[26]

It is more about making 'sense' and 'meaning' out of what people read. This process is influenced by one's social and cultural milieu, which means the reading of the same book could be completely different from one's experience to that of another's.[27]

Such a conceptualisation of reading is arguably similar to Burke's hypothesised relationship between language and society. According to him, while language is the reflection of the society/culture where it is spoken, language also shapes the society in which it is spoken.[28] This hypothesis could be applied to the relation between cultural expression and society.[29] In this sense, an important point

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[25] P. Burke, 'Unity and Variety in Cultural History', in idem., *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1997) p. 193.
[26] Ibid., p. 209. See also, R. Chartier, 'General Introduction: Print Culture', in R. Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print, Power and Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, L. Cochrane (trans.), (Cambridge MA, 1987), p. 5.
[27] Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland*, p.19.
[28] Burke, 'Introduction', pp. 4 and 11-14, and a similar view is found in the study of Anne-Marie Mercier Faivre, 'La nation part langure: philogue, naitonalisme et nation dans l'Europe du dix-huitième siècle', in O' Dea and Whelan, *Nations and Nationalisms*, especially, p. 178.
[29] A similar attempt was made by Roger Chartier. In his study of cultural history of the French Revolution, he suggested to take an approach which looks at the Enlightenment as the product of the French Revolution rather than the other way around. R. Chartier, *The cultural origins of the French Revolution*, L. Cochrane (trans.) (Durham, NC, 1991), especially, chapters 1 and 4, and idem., '"Discourses and Practices" On the Origins of the French Revolution' in his *On the edge of the cliff: history, language, and practices*, L. Cochrane (trans.) (Baltimore, 1997).

when studying chapbooks is to explore not only their content but also what could be made out of them by varied social groups.[30] As the following chapters demonstrate, the reading of the same title could encompass a wide range of possibilities when attempting to understand its meaning. It is this fluidity and malleability needed to make sense of reading books and other cultural objects that has influenced how the construction of the notion of Scottish nationhood was done. Yet, this was not a one-way process: the notion of nationhood constructed in this manner is, in turn, configured by how the stories of nationhood in the chapbooks and other media are presented.

The concept of popular culture and popular literature does not appear to be as clear-cut as once it was envisioned. Yet, once the conceptualisation of popular culture is separated from presupposing the existence of a dichotomy between the elite and the populace, the concept can be relieved from seeking the pure form of popular culture. The content of the chapbooks and the possible way of reading them suggest that they appealed to both the elite and the populace. Accordingly, instead of ascribing a particular form of culture to a particular social group, the approach of deciphering how a particular social group perceived, understood, and used a cultural form should be undertaken.[31] In other words, popular culture is here suggested as the forum for exchanging the worldviews of each social group and ideology. Certainly, anything can happen in this forum: coercion, negotiation, threat, domination, compromise and agreement. However, none of this activity belonged to a specific

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[30] G. Duval, *Litte rature de colportage et imaginaire collectif en Angleterre à l'époque des Dicey (1720- v. 1800)* (Bordeaux, 1991), p. 109.

[31] J. Raven, H. Small and N. Tadmor, 'Introduction: the practice and representation of reading in England', in idem. (eds.), *The practice and representation of reading in England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 7-8.

social group, or one who were always acting in the same way. The question of how they acted and understood popular culture seems to be decided by a historical particularity. In this way, it is possible to avoid seeing this mingling of the elite and the populace as being only in terms of the domination of the elite over the populace or the 'corrupt popular culture'.

A similar point can be made about the decline of chapbook printing in the 1830s onwards. Victor Neuburg seeks the reasons for the decline in the sophistication of the reading public who also received a direct influence of industrialisation and urbanisation:

> [chapbooks] provided the means by which unlettered members of a pre-industrial society could move into an urban industrial society increasingly dominated by print. The tales, jests and lore of a rural past became of less interest to those who found themselves willy-nilly members of the working class rather than just 'the poor' or 'the meaner sort'.[32]

Neuburg further contends that this sophistication of the taste was further accelerated by a middle class obsession with desire to reform working class behaviour:

> In the main it was felt that literature and its provision was a moral issue, and that a more wholesome approach was required if readers of little education were to be saved from 'extravagant and horrible fiction' which, so right-thinking commentators from the middle class thought, could only debauch them and destroy their moral sense with atheism and radical politics.[33]

These arguments appear sustainable at first glance. Certainly, many chapbooks were concerned with the life of people in the countryside and they collected the type of oral literature which rapidly became irrelevant to the British, and indeed the Scottish

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[32] V. E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature: A History and Guide* (Harmondsworth, 1977), p. 126. Historians such as Robert Mandrou and Robert Muchembled share this view.
[33] Ibid., p. 160.

landscape. However, these contentions could be challenged from two directions. Firstly, Neuburg presupposes that popular literature belonged to the domain of the 'populace' or in his own words 'the poor' or 'the meaner sort'. As social groupings were re-organised and re-structured from 'the poor' or 'the meaner sort' to the working class by industrialisation and urbanisation, their taste of printed culture changed from uncouth to something more sophisticated. However, did this transformation really take place? The answer could be varied according to the part of popular literature or popular culture looked at.[34] Furthermore, as we will see in the following chapters (especially in chapter seven), one of the reasons why the notion of Scottish nationhood constructed in chapbooks began to lose its attraction for their readers seems to lie in the point that such a notion no longer represented its readers. The readers' focus has moved to something else. If chapbooks are included in the category of popular literature, their readership does not seem to be confined to a particular social group. While the way these chapbooks sold - most cases people bought from peddlers - and the ephemeral nature of chapbooks make it difficult for us to trace and define their readership, these points suggest that it was open to any readers, so long as they wanted to read them. As we will see in the next section, the list of chapbook titles suggests the absence of dominance exerted by a particular social and to some extent geographical group over others. In other words, Scottish chapbooks appear to be flexible and malleable about forming their own cultural values and cultural system which would, in turn, define and form a reader's cultural and social behaviour.

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[34] J. S. Bratton, *The Victorian Popular Ballad*, pp. 89-135.

Neuburg's argument could be applicable to those chapbook readers whose taste changed throughout the period of industrialisation and urbanisation, but there were some readers whose taste arguably did not change even in the 1830s: that is, at the height of industrialisation and 'class' formation. For instance, Dougal Graham's works were still published at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, though middle class observers such as William Motherwell dismissed them as vulgar and prejudiced.[35]

These problems could be related to another difficulties in understanding popular culture in history. As the nature of popular culture itself was ephemeral, it is extremely difficult to trace historical evidence. This is further worsened by the distinctly low literacy rate of the people who were involved within popular culture and who, in most cases, left few if any records. Even the surviving records have possibilities that they were 'contaminated' by an observant who was an outsider to a popular cultural milieu.[36] In this case, what historians face are not a 'pure' form of popular culture but an outsider's perception of popular culture. And, there is no guarantee that historical documents would present a 'pure' form of elite culture either.[37] The so-called popular literature such as chapbooks and broadside ballads do not escape this type of problem. Although the surviving body of the literature

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[35] The Lauriston Castle collection includes Graham's works published in 1839 and 1840. *The comical history of Simple John and his twelve misfortunes* (Paisley, 1839), and *The Witty and extravagant exploits of George Buchanan: to which is added the comical sayings of Paddy from Cork with his coat button'd behind* (n. p., 1840).

[36] Recently, Alexander Fenton has made an attempt to read Dougal Graham's chapbooks as a source to understand eighteenth century Scottish society, and concluded that with some qualification 'Dougal Graham's material is astonishingly authentic; that it is in itself an important source for social history provided it is *properly* and carefully interpreted'. A. Fenton, 'The People Below: Dougal Graham's Chapbooks as a Mirror of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth Century Scotland', in A. Gardner-Medwin and J. H Williams (eds.), *A Day Estivall: essays on the music, poetry and history of Scotland and England and poems previously unpublished; in honourof Helena Mennie Shire* (Aberdeen, 1990).

[37] Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', pp. 6-7

exemplifies some sort of consumer trends, this does not necessarily match with what the subscribers to popular culture desired to read. For instance, as Ó Ciosáin shows, the presence of didactic and reformist chapbooks in the Irish chapbook market does not indicate that these chapbooks were what the chapbook reading public (which consisted of various strata of society) really desired to read.[38] It merely indicates what was available on the market.

A seemingly straightforward notion of popular culture thus comprises various problems. But it is also difficult to discard the concept altogether, as it still provides a useful framework to understand how people from different social backgrounds attempted to make sense of the world in which they lived. In this thesis the word popular culture is used in the loosest as well as its widest sense. That is to say, a popular culture which does not presuppose the existence of fixed subscribers. Instead, it is defined as a popular culture which is open to various echelons of society. The next section will look at what chapbooks were available in Scotland in the given period.

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[38] Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland*, pp.148-49.

This open nature of popular culture is exemplified in the title list of chapbooks in the Lauriston Castle Collection, whose chapbooks will be examined extensively throughout this thesis.[39] The Collection contains more than 3700 chapbooks, mainly from the British Isles but with some from the Continental Europe. Unlike French chapbooks, or *bibliothéque bleue*, studied by Robert Mandrou, the title list of the Collection demonstrates geographical variety as well as diversity in authorship. Firstly, the list contains chapbooks which were written essentially on Scottish themes. This group includes the stories on Scottish historical icons such as Robert Bruce, William Wallace and John Knox.[40] Similarly to these national heroes, there are chapbooks on 'national' event in Scottish history such as the Massacre of Glencoe. Many chapbooks are also concerned with the life of the people in rural Scotland. For instance, most of Dougal Graham's works can be categorised into this group. Another Scottish theme is the 'traditional' ballad. For instance, *The Duke of Gordon's daughters* was printed repeatedly.[41] The Scottish contemporary writers were also printed in chapbook format. One significant writer is Robert Burns.[42] Secondly, the list also includes chapbooks originally printed in other parts of Britain

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[39] There is no biography of William Robert Reid (1854-1919) the founder of the Collection. Yet, recently the National Library of Scotland placed some bibliographical data on their web site. According to them, Reid acquired the castle in 1903.
http://www.nls.ac.uk/print_collect/detail.cfm?id=291&keyword=&subjectid=102&collection=291&passedsubject=-99&passedcollection=291&passedkeyword=

[40] The chapbooks on the first two historical icons are extensively studied in chapter 2. As for the chapbooks on John Knox, seven copies printed in Belfast, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Newcastle between 1828 and 1845, were included in the collection.

[41] 14 copies are included in the catalogue of collection, but all but one were without the date of printing.

[42] 26 copies including three copies of his biography are found. These chapbooks were printed across the Lowlands, but one copy was printed in Lancaster while two were from Newcastle.

(mainly England) but reprinted by Scottish printers. For instance, a Dumfries printer printed the famous loyalist propaganda literature on John Bull.[43] This point is further exemplified by the stock list of chapbooks printed by a Kilmarnock printer, H. Crawford.[44] Some chapbook printers printed the list of their chapbook titles such as this, which demonstrates some differences in their stock. While, for example, Crawford's list includes various titles concerned with either Presbyterianism or anti-Catholicism, J. B. Brydone's list, he was an Edinburgh printer, does not include these themes and tends to be more 'cosmopolitan' in selection. Crawford's also seems to contain a similar stock to a big chapbook printer in Glasgow, J&M Robertson.[45] Thirdly, as John Morris indicates, religious themes occupy a significant place in the world of the Scottish chapbooks which are read by people across the social strata.[46] As chapter three will demonstrate, the religious identity represented in these chapbooks played a significant role in nurturing Scottishness during the period given.

The wide range of subjects and genres also demonstrates a varied nature of authorship, which differs from the study of Robert Muchembled who argues that the authorship of French chapbooks could be largely ascribed to 'people of middling culture, perhaps former students of the *college* who had assimilating its teaching with success varying degrees of success'.[47] For instance, John Morris has recently found out that almost all of the text version of the ballads and songs found in Scotland are from manuscripts which are usually 'taken down from oral tradition, whether by

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[43] Its content is discussed in chapter four.
[44] As for the list, see appendix A. The list consisted of 20 titles printed between 1817 and 1829.
[45] A. McNaughtan, 'A Century of Saltmaket Literature, 1790-1890', in P. Isaac (ed.), *Six Centuries of the Provincial Books trade in Britain* (Winchester, 1990), pp. 166-67. As for a short account of J&M Robertson's enterprise, see, Morris, 'Bothy Ballad', p. 90.
[46] J. Morris, 'Patrick Walker, Covenanter and Chapman', *Quadra*, 14 (2001), p. 3.
[47] Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture*, p. 290.

transcription from the singing of individuals, or by the individuals writing them out from memory'.[48] Although the authorship is, like with chapbooks in other countries, almost unknown, as normally they printed chapbooks anonymously, some tentative attempts will be made to offer some insights into the authorship and the nature of the production of Scottish chapbooks. These, through two cases studies of chapbook writers cum printers, will be presented below.

Although the content of Scottish chapbooks seems to be highly diverse, some patterns can be discerned. Firstly, the production of chapbooks was easier than books but more time-consuming than broad-side ballads and newspapers.[49] This meant that long and complicated stories were avoided, though there are some exceptions such as Dougal Graham's account of the Jacobite Rebellion. For instance, Dougal Graham's first-hand account of the Jacobite campaign in 1745 and 1746 consisted of more than 100 pages, but this is one of the few exceptions.[50] Most of the Scottish chapbooks consisted of between 16 and 32 pages. This avoidance of printing a long story could be ascribed to printers' efforts to maintain the cost of printing low. Another reason for this also seems to come from the way these chapbooks were sold. While it was not rare to find chapbooks sold in bookshops as well as grocers, in most cases these 'little' books were distributed and sold by the so-called chapman, a peddler, who carried those books and other commodities.

Like broadside ballads and the newspaper, chapbook printers appear to have

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[48] J. Morris, 'Scottish ballads and Chapbooks', in P. Isaac and B. McKay, *Image & Texts, Their Production and Distribution in the 18th and 19th centuries* (Winchester, 1997), p. 97.
[49] A. R. Thompson, 'Chapbook printers', *The Bibliothek*, 6 (1972), p. 76.
[50] The content of this chapbook is examined in chapter four.

shown great interest in stories which had a 'news' value.[51] Dougal Graham's exclusive story on his adventure with the Jacobites came to the market five months after the battle of Culloden in 1746.[52] On the other hand, some stories were repeatedly printed in order to express the concern with the current news. A chapbook on the massacre in Ireland in 1641 was printed at the time of Britain's Union with Ireland in 1800.[53] This type of use of 'old' vocabulary to describe a 'new' situation seems to be a regular practice in chapbook literature, as the next three chapters will demonstrate.

This feature in chapbook literature of adapting a new theme in order that it be interpreted and understood by a set of extant vocabulary arguably reflects the reading practice common during this period. While people started to read books 'extensively', they also stuck to their traditional way of reading 'intensively'.[54] The former practice became more common when reading material came to be more widely available both in terms of price and content. On the other hand, the book and reading market did not fully open its door to the reading public until all regulating duties were repealed in 1861 - the advertisement tax in 1853, the Stamp duty in 1855 and the paper tax in 1860.[55] In this sense, chapbook literature was the product of a transitional period: from what was an expensive and exclusive reading material market to one which was cheap and widely available.

As we have seen, unlike the content of the French chapbooks studied by

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[51] According to Mcnaughtan, 70% of the J&M Robertson chapbooks published in 1798 are concerned with the current affairs. McNaughton, 'A century of Saltmarket literature', p. 167.
[52] G. MacGregor, *The collected writings of Dougal Graham: "Skellat" bellman of Glasgow / edited with notes, together with a biographical and bibliographical introduction, and a sketch of the chap literature of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1883) 2 vols., I, p. 13.
[53] The content of this chapbook is examined in chapter four.
[54] Ó Ciosáin , *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland*, pp. 186-90.
[55] J. R. R. Adams, *The Printed World and the Common man, Popular Culture in Ulster 1700-1900*

Muchembled and Mandrou, that of Scottish chapbooks was not the mere 'reproduction of the ideology of the immobility of the world that was characteristic of the privileged but adapted it and populised it': their content diversified, and the content of many chapbooks expressed their views on current affairs.[56] Another point emphasised in this section is the significance of taking an approach to examine the content of chapbooks by exploring not only what was written in chapbooks but also how were they read. This point has a particular relevance to examining written materials such as chapbooks whose nature is 'open': 'open' in its readership and authorship. Therefore, it is essential to contextualise the Scottish chapbooks by analysing their socio-political background and, in turn, its relation to these chapbooks. Their relationship was not merely that of the chapbooks as the representation of society. Using Peter Burke's concept of language and society cited above, the relationship between chapbooks and society was arguably a mutual one: while the chapbooks were the reflection of the society/culture in which they were read, the chapbooks also shaped the society in which they were read. Such an approach will become a useful tool to decipher how people constructed the notion of Scottish nationhood through an exchange of views within the Scottish chapbooks.

In the next two sections, two chapbook printers' lives and activities, those of Dougal Graham and Geroge Miller of Haddington, are examined as case studies of how chapbooks were produced and received by people. Although it is still uncertain about the production and readership of Scottish chapbook partly because of their 'open' nature, these two case studies will offer some insights into such issues.

(Belfast, 1987), p. 161.

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Dougal Graham was born in Raploch near Stirling in 1724 (plate 1-1). After some education, he became a farm servant in Campsie. Meanwhile, he also became a chapman at 'a very young age'. The event which changed his life entirely was the 1745-46 Jacobite rebellion in which Graham joined as a 'sutler or camp-follower', and followed most of the seven months' campaign.[57] After the Jacobites' defeat on the battlefield of Culloden, Graham wrote a chapbook on his experience with the Jacobite army which was advertised on the *Glasgow Courant* in September of the same year.[58] After the publication of his account of the rebellion, he came to Glasgow and settled down. According to Graham's biographer George MacGregor, Graham became a chapbook printer and 'merchant' around 1752. His role in the chapbook printing industry was rather interesting. Not only did he print chapbooks but he also wrote the content under various pseudonyms such as The Scots' Piper, John Falkirk

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[56] Muchembled, *Popular culture and Elite Culture in France*, p. 208.

[57] MacGregor, *The collected writings of Dougal Graham*, I, p.12.

[58] D. Graham, *An impartial history of the rise, progress and extinction of the late rebellion in Britain in the year 1745 and 1746* (Glasgow, 1746). This edition was published by James Duncan of Saltmarket in Glasgow at 4 pence. This chapbook seems to have become a contemporary long-seller with twenty editions between 1746 and 1828 apart from some editions with different titles. According to John Fraser, Graham changed his tone regarding the Jacobites. The virulent tone in 1st and 2nd editions (printed in 1746 and 1752 respectively) were somehow softened in the 3rd edition (printed in 1774) and onwards. (J. Fraser, *The humorous chapbooks of Scotland* (New York and Glasgow, 1874), pp. 166-71. Fraser believes this was because Graham's intention to work at Glasgow city council as a bellman, and he had to conceal his own creed till he got a post (this seems to have taken place around 1770):

...a few years later the office, vacant, of bellman to the city of Glasgow fell and as the Magistrates being, stout Protestants and strong Hanoverians, looked with suspicion, amounting even to positive disgust, on the supporters of Prince Charles, some extent, his political convictions to the honours of place. So he foreswore the Pretender, at least in public; revised his famous history, by the newer and truer light of a more liberal interpretation of events; and was appointed to the vacant office.

and Merry Andrew at Tamtallon and sold them to other printers.[59] He also took a public role as a skellat bellman in either the 1750s or in the 1770s, and MacGregor argues that changes in the content of the History of Rebellion could be understood as efforts to demonstrate his loyalty to the Government.[60] Graham died in 1779.

A contemporary printer, J. M. Robertson comments on Graham: '[he] long occupied a prominent position as a publisher of popular literature'. Where Graham differs from his other chapbook printers/writers is that his writings were based on his experience as a chapman.[61] There are at least ten chapbooks which are ascribed to Graham, and most of them are on the life of people in the countryside.[62] Because of his rather frivolous writing style, some people from a different social group frowned upon his works. For instance, William Motherwell, the Tory ballad collector criticised Graham's works:

> To refined taste Graham had no pretensions. His indelicacy is notorious- his coarseness as abomination-, but they are characteristic of the class for whom he wrote.[63]

Despite of these criticisms placed upon him, Graham's chapbooks seemed to be very popular. According to MacGregor, if slightly exaggerated, one million copies of his chapbooks were sold annually, and J&M Robertson, the Glasgow printer made

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[59] MacGregor, op. cit., pp. 17-18. For instance, the printer George Caldwell in Motherwell recalled his transaction with Graham, 'We were aye fain to get a haud of some new piece frae him'.
[60] MacGregor, *The collected writings of Dougal Graham*, p. 19.
[61] Ibid., p. 35.
[62] Fifteen main themes of Graham's works found in the Lauriston Castle Collection are the following with numerous editions: The Coalman's courtship to the creel-wife's daughter; The comical history of Simple John; The comical sayings of Paddy from Cork, with his coat button'd behind; Fun upon fun, or Leper, the tailor; The history of Buckhaven; The history of the Haverel Wives; The history of John Cheap, the Chapman; The history of the Late Rebellion;The history of the two brothers' misfortunes; Jockey and Maggy's courtship; John Falkirk's cariches; John Highlandman's Remarks on Glasgow; The miseries of Poor Tam; Simple Simon's misfortunes
[63] MacGregor, *The collected writings of Dougal Graham.*, p. 64. This issue is also discussed at length in chapter 6. As for the withdrawal of the elite from chapbook literature in England, see Duval, *Litterature de colportage et imaginaire collectif*, p. 121.

£30,000 out of selling Graham's works.[64]

Dougal Graham could be an exceptional case to delineate the issues of the production and readership of Scottish chapbooks, most chapbook printers were unknown individuals whose chapbooks did not sell as much Graham's. Nor were they reprinted around Scotland and throughout the period. On the other hand, the apparent popularity of Graham's chapbooks gives at least a partial idea of popular reading by Scottish people during this period, and how the conservatives understood such a phenomenon. Indeed, so far as Graham's works are concerned, this was not the taste of the elite. In this sense, there was a withdrawal of the elite from popular literature. However, it is another issue to conclude this as their withdrawal from popular culture *per se*. In order to draw such a conclusion, it is necessary to examine other chapbook genres and their relations to the elite. As chapters three to five will demonstrate, it seems that the state and the landed classes, mainly conservatives, certainly did not subscribe to the notion of Scottishness transmitted through the Scottish chapbooks printed during the period. However, this was not just because they thought that these chapbooks were 'vulgar' and 'coarse', but because they knew what the chapbook construction meant to the readers, and perceived it as undermining their position in the nation, as seen in chapter three and four.[65]

In the next section, the life of another chapbook writer cum printer, George Miller of Haddington is examined. Because Miller's life and writing style differs significantly from that of Graham, this will exemplify the diversity of the Scottish chapbooks in terms of content and production.

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[64] Ibid.,., pp. 75-76.
[65] See chapter three section five as well as chapter four sections five, seven and eight in chapter four below.

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George Miller (1771-1836) is an interesting figure not only because like Graham he combined the roles of a writer and a printer, but also he attempted to reform society through his chapbooks. He was born in Dunbar in 1771 as a son of a small grocery shop-owner. Like his senior Dougal Graham, Miller received some elementary education at, in his case at a 'liberal' burgh school. However where he differs from Graham is that he also some Latin education. In this sense, Miller could be fitted into Robert Muchembled's typical chapbook writer. After his education which, according to his biographer W. J. Couper, lasted for about nine years, he took an apprenticeship under Alexander Smart who had a bookshop in Dunbar in 1785.[66] As Smart's business failed, Smart returned to his home city of Edinburgh with Miller. Miller took further training in South Shields, which abruptly ended with his father's death in 1789. His enthusiasm for learning led Miller to start a circulating library from his grocery shop, though his new enterprise did not enjoy any major success.[67]

His zeal on social reform and education took another turn, when he bought a printing press from a printer, John Taylor of Berwick upon Tweed, and Miller established the 'East Lothian Press'.[68] He started printing chapbooks including titles

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[66] W. J. Couper, *The Millers of Haddington, Dunbar and Dunfermline A Record of Scottish Bookselling* (London, 1914), pp. 27-32.
[67] Ibid., pp. 61-64. The library started with mere 507 volumes, but in 1809 the library's catalogue consisted of more than 160 pages with around 3,500 book titles. Libraries were still something of rarity in this region. Miller's main customers were soldiers who stationed at barracks nearby, so when the Napoleonic war ended in 1815, he lost most of customers.
[68] Ibid., p. 72.

such as 'Cherry and the Slae' and 'The Laird of Cool's Ghost'. His autobiography leaves some account of how his business as chapbook printer in the Lowlands was run. For instance, in 1801:

> My halfpenny books, 25 reams, or 48,000, of which I appear to have printed from the 8th of February to the 18th of March this year, which were succeeded by 12,000 penny ones. And on the 1st of May I have it recorded that I finished my 240 reams of ballads, which were characterised by their purity from anything offensive to propriety and delicacy, and some of them, I believe, for their moral tendency, a thing not very common among their predecessors, and which I mention the more as being perhaps the first attempt of the kind to reform, if not to remodel, what has been supposed to have so much influence on the lower orders- the national ballads.[69]

If the figures he cited here are correct, he seems to have printed and sold more than 200,000 copies of chapbooks annually. Although he printed other writers' works, he decided to start his own chapbook series which placed emphasis upon moral issues:

> to substitute for it publications which, while avowedly religious and moral, were nevertheless near enough to it in appearance and style not to suggest a violent rupture between the old and the new.[70]

He titled the new series 'Cheap Tracts' comprising of twenty titles, and published 60,000 issues in total. Although Miller's contention 'since the publication of my Cheap Tracts in 1802-3, the complexion of the contents of the hawker's basket has undergone a very sensible alteration or material change to the better' seems to be exaggerated as many 'rude' and 'vulgar' chapbooks were printed and sold around Scotland, the success of Cheap Tracts led him to plan launches of regularly printed magazines such as the *Cheap Magazine* (1813-14) and *The Monthly Monitor and Philanthropic Museum* (1815). An extract from his first issue describes the character of his magazines succinctly yet accurately:

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[69] Quoted in ibid., p. 80.
[70] Ibid., p.86.

Ye careless and indolent! Open your eyes,
Ah! Halt not, I pray you, between:
And you that are young, here's matter to prize,
Contained in the Cheap Magazine.

Consider, ye Parents! On you it depends
To bend the young Sprig while it's green;
I'm apt to believe, you'll accomplish your ends,
By a purchase of this Magazine.[71]

According to his biographer, however, Miller's fortune did not last long. After its financial zenith in 1815, his enterprise went down hill slowly. His misfortune coincided with the general trend of the printing industry itself, which seemed to be partly triggered by the post-Napoleonic war economic slump. Tragically for Miller, the early bankruptcy of his Inverness branch which opened in the summer of 1816 caused a serious decline in his business. Miller was further hit by the collapse of Ballantyne and Constable, which also famously bankrupted Walter Scott, in 1826.[72] In 1832, Miller even surrendered his furniture and library to the creditors, and died in 1836.

While both case studies incorporate some exceptional circumstances, they might indicate some general trends in the chapbook industry and market. As will be discussed in the next section, the success of Graham's career as a chapbook writer/printer and Miller's financial difficulties seem roughly to correspond to the general chronology of Scottish chapbooks during this period. Analysing the list of chapbook printers compiled by Alistair Thompson, it appears that fewer chapbooks have survived from both the pre-1770 and the post-1850 period. While this can partly

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[71] Quoted in ibid., pp. 122-23.

be explained by the collectors' taste and the ephemeral nature of chapbooks in general, the conclusion of Thompson's study of Scottish chapbook printers, which indicates that the second-half of the nineteenth century saw a decline of the Scottish chapbooks, seems to present a more plausible picture.[73] This is particularly the case when we set the Scottish chapbook market in its European context. As Laurence Fontaine points out, peddling as a profession in Europe came to see its end towards the end of the nineteenth century, mainly because the business structures which had sustained peddling changed, and also partly because there was an increase in numbers of small grocery shops where these chapbooks came to be sold.[74]

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[72] Ibid., p.166.
[73] Thompson, 'Chapbook printers' p. 76.
[74] L. Fontaine, *Histoire de colportage en Europe XV^e^-XIX^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 178-92.

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This section is going to analyse the list of Scottish chapbook printers provided by Alistair Thompson in his article in order to show the rough chronology of Scottish chapbook production.[75] Although Thompson's list containing the name of chapbook printers in geographical order does not show any indication on the date of publication for some chapbook printers in the information, the analysis of his list demonstrates how chapbook printing expanded and declined geographically.[76] Most of the chapbooks published before the 1770s come from Edinburgh and Glasgow (Table, 1-1).

Table 1-1: The numbers of Chapbook Printers in Scotland 1700-1770

Place	Number
Aberdeen	1
Edinburgh	12
Glasgow	9
Kilmarnock	1

Saltmarket in Glasgow was reputedly one of the major centres of this activity with eleven printers along with bookshops targeted at more 'literary' taste in 1790, as recalled by Robert Reid, Glasgow:

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[75] Thompson, 'Chapbook printers', pp. 78-83. Some of these chapbook printers whose period of business activity are identified by referring to the on-line resources Scottish Book Trade Index (SBTI). http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/index.html

[76] Thompson compiled this list using Victor Neuburg's bibliography of English and American chapbooks complemented with chapbook titles from various libraries in Scotland. Thompson, 'Chapbook printers', p. 78.

> ...the Old Saltmarket biblioposlists confining themselves mostly to religious works, and to the interesting pamphlets and history of Jack the Giant-Killer, Valentine and Orson, Leper the Tailor, and the Seven Wise Men of Gotham and such like. Dunlop and Wilson had one of their shop windows fronting the Trongate, and another fronting the Candleriggs. In the inside of these were displayed stucco busts of Adam Smith, David Hume and other celebrated literati; also, a goodly set-out of handsomely bound and gift new publications of the times: while the unfortunate Saltmarket Street booksellers were prevented from making any display at their shop windows, in consequence of their premises being situated in the dark recess under the pillars; they therefore rested satisfied with decking out their establishments by exhibiting splendid assortments of half-penny prints, and gold-feuilled children's books, such as 'Goody Two-Shoes', 'Babes in the Wood', 'Pussin Boots', 'Robinson Crusoe', etc The most striking article of their display, however, was the celebrated penny print of Paul Jones shooting a sailor who attempted to strike his colours; and the miserable countenance of poor Jack when the pistol was being presented to his head, never failed to attract a fair assemblage of window gazers.[77]

After the 1770s, although the two main cities continued to dominate, chapbook printing came to spread to other towns of the Lowlands (table 1-2). It was rarely more than one or two printers in each burgh, but it shows the beginnings of the local production of what were often national stories.

[77] Quoted in McNaughton, 'A century of Saltmarket literature', pp. 165-66.

Table 1-2: The numbers of Chapbook Printers in Scotland 1770-1800

Place	Number
Aberdeen	3
Dumfries	1
Dundee	2
Edinburgh	13
Falkirk	3
Glasgow	10
Greenock	1
Hawick	1
Paisley	2
Perth	1

It was at the turn of the nineteenth century that the industry became more widespread over the Lowlands, of which Stirling, Falkirk, Kilmarnock, Greenock and Paisley saw some concentration in printers along with the two main chapbook printing centres, Edinburgh and Glasgow (Table 1-3). Graham Dougal was in this sense one of the successful printers in Glasgow, who arose from a farm servant to become a chapbook writer cum printer whose works were printed and re-printed by not only his own firm but also by other printers.

Table 1-3: The numbers of Chapbook Printers in Scotland 1800-1830

Place	Number
Aberdeen	4
Aidrie	1
Ayr	2
Banff	1
Beith	1
Crieff	1
Dumfries	2
Dunbar	1
Dunfermline	1
Edinburgh	10
Falkirk	2
Glasgow	16
Greenock	1
Kelso	1
Leith	1
Montrose	1
Newton Stewart	1
Paisley	3
Peterhead	1
Stirling	4

As the industry grew, it spread to the North-East as well as in the South-West. The list includes printers in Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Montrose and Peterhead, and those in Ayr and Dumfries. Peter Buchan from Peterhead, for example, is one of the printers who took an active role in the industry. Buchan, born in Peterhead in 1790 as the son of a 'pilot' who 'possessed of small means', worked as a wheelwright after some rudimentary school education.[78] Like George Miller, Buchan was a 'bookish' character, and his love of poetry and ballads led him to publish the anthology of vernacular poetry *The Recreation of Leisure Hours: Being Original Songs and Verses, Chiefly Scottish Dialect* in 1814 by an Edinburgh publisher Oliver and

[78] J. H. Fairley, Peter Buchan, Printer and Ballad Collector; with a Bibiliography (Peterhead, 1903), p. 2

Boyd.[79] The success of *The Recreation of Leisure Hours* enabled him to set-up a printing press in Peterhead, through which he published a series of chapbooks in a large quantity as well as a fortnightly periodical 'The Selector'. He was also involved in ballad collecting and his collection of local ballads was appreciated by Walter Scott.[80] However, his success as a printer came to an end in 1831, when he faced financial difficulties, which roughly coincides with the financial failure experienced by Miller.

After 1830, the numbers of chapbook printer seem to have declined, and their geographical locations were narrowed (table 1-4).

Table 1-4: The numbers of Chapbook Printers in Scotland 1830-1850

Place	Number
Aberdeen	3
Banff	1
Dumfries	1
Dunfermline	1
Edinburgh	8
Falkirk	2
Glasgow	1
Kilmarnock	1
Kirkcudbright	1
Kirkintilloch	1
Paisley	1
Stirling	1
Greenock	1
Kelso	1
Leith	1
Montrose	1
Newton Stewart	1
Paisley	3
Peterhead	1
Stirling	4

[79] Ibid., p. 2
[80] Ibid., p.10.

As it has been argued above, chapbook printing in Scotland seems to have grown rapidly during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Before the 1770s, most of printers were largely concentrated on Edinburgh and Glasgow. The following six decades after 1770, the industry expanded in all areas of Scotland (apart from the Highlands), although it started to decline around 1830 as was seen in the cases of Miller and Buchan. This trend further accelerated after 1850 (apart from in Aberdeen where a considerable increase in number is found (Table: 1-5)).

Table 1-5: The numbers of Chapbook Printers in Scotland 1850-1900

Place	Number
Aberdeen	7
Brechin	1
Dundee	2
Edinburgh	2
Elgin	1
Falkirk	1
Kirkcudbright	1
Paisley	1

It is arguable that this financial hardship for the industry in the 1830s also coincided with change in people's taste of reading materials, though the change should not be solely ascribed to the refinement of their taste caused by middle class reformers' denunciation of chapbooks from a moralistic point of view. Again this type of reformist literature was circulated in the chapbook market, and as the case study of George Miller exemplifies, there were the self-taught and self-help chapbook printers who devoted their efforts to 'reform' the market in a moral sense and with moderate success.

However, as Ó Ciosáin suggests, these tracts were not necessarily targeted at the working classes.[81] Moreover, the decline of chapbook literature was partly caused by the post-Napoleonic war economic depression which small printers had to face and which coincided with the rise of a new, rival medium - the popular press and the magazines such as William D. Latto's Dundee based *People's Journal*.[82] Therefore Neuburg's argument that it was the 'sophistication' of popular taste which was a major part of the reasons for the decline of chapbook literature, must be treated with some qualifications. The success of the *Chambers Magazine*, which was the spearhead of the middle class moral reform movement, can be partly explained by Neuburg's argument, but more importantly, the *Chambers Magazine* succeeded because of its competitive price against chapbooks as well as its content: unlike its predecessors, the language of moral reform was skilfully blended with humour.[83] This reveals the nature of the popular literature market. The ideological influence of one social group over others through popular literature was only possible when one social group's ideology made some concessions to be acceptable for others. The

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[81] Ó Ciosáin , *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland*, pp.135-37. Ó Ciosáin 's study of Hannah More's moral and religious tracts is very suggestive. In Ireland, according to him, More's tracts were targeted at and consumed by the middle and upper classes:
The middle and upper classes were therefore an important part of the market, and some aspects of the content of the tracts should be considered in this light. In the peasant dialogue, for example, the image of a lower class coming to responsible, conservative conclusions through rational debate is calculated to reassure elite purchasers and to convince them of the feasibility of reform of popular culture by persuasion.
As for More's work, see S. Pedersen, 'Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks, and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England', *JBS* 25 (1986), and more recently, R. Hole, 'Hannah More on Literature and Propaganda, 1788-1799', *HJ* (2000). An attempt to educate the ordinary people through tracts was made by the Religious Tract and Book Society in Scotland, but it was not really successful. This attempt was sustained throughout the period by periodicals such as the *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* and the Scottish Temperance League's *League Journal*. See, W. Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland language ,fiction and the press*(Aberdeen, 1986), pp. 81-2.
[82] W. Donaldson, 'Popular Literature: The Press, the People, and the Vernacular Revival' in D. Gifford (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 3 Nineteenth Century (Aberdeen, 1988), pp. 211-13.
[83] Ibid., p. 211.

diametric opposition between 'popular' and elite culture is too simplistic to provide an explanation for the rise and the fall of chapbook publication. Instead what is found was very much a dialectical relationship between the two – and this is how we should interpret the consumption of national identity from chapbook and other 'popular' literature.

The chapter started with re-examining the validity of the concepts such as popular culture and popular literature. The received wisdom of popular culture as essentially traditional has been challenged by suggesting that popular culture did not belong to and was not possessed by a particular social group. Thus, popular culture is defined not as cultural system containing a monolithic and coherent value system, but as a culture with a flexible and at times contradictory value system. Such flexibility and contradiction in a supposedly single cultural system became plausible, if popular culture is postulated as the system with an 'open' nature. In other words, popular 'literary' culture seemed to have a wider audience than elite culture. In this process, the first half of this chapter has emphasised the importance of an interpretive strategy of 'reading' the context of how popular culture in particular, chapbooks, were read in Scottish society. This is especially relevant to the present study, as the surviving body of chapbooks does not necessarily match what the readers of chapbooks desired to read. Such a conceptualisation of understanding popular culture and chapbooks will be used along with the technique of narrative analysis in the following three chapters. While reading the context of the chapbooks during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries will help us to understand how the readers of chapbooks read the stories of the Scottish nation, the application of narrative analysis reveals why each story was written in a particular manner. As pointed out above, while chapbooks were the reflection of the society in which they were sold, the readers' world-view was symbiotically formed through the chapbooks.

The second half of this chapter, on the other hand, focused on the production of Scottish chapbooks. Although the anonymity of chapbook authorship makes it difficult for us to trace who actually wrote these chapbooks, some tentative suggestions are offered through the two case studies of chapbook writers, Dougal Graham and George Miller.

How, then, did late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century people read these chapbooks, and what did they make of the image of Scottish nationhood from the chapbooks? These are the questions which will be answered in the next three chapters. Chapter two analyses how the chapbooks treated medieval Scottish heroes in their biographical stories, while chapter three looks at two different notions in the concept of nation found in the chapbooks on the late Covenanters. The construction of otherness in Scottish nationhood will be discussed in chapter four by analysing the loyalist chapbooks printed during the Napoleonic war.

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VICE FLY AS CHARLIE, AND JOHN COPE.

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Plate 1-1: The Portait of Dougal Graham

Chapter 2
William Wallace and Bannockburn in Chapbooks: The study of heroic icons in Scottish popular literature

1

The previous chapter has pointed out that the received wisdom on the nature of popular literature, especially that of Robert Mandrou and Robert Muchembled, is not appropriate in the Scottish context. This is chiefly because of their tendency to fit the rôle of popular literature as well as that of popular culture into the grand narrative process of élite and bourgeois 'reforming' (or 'contaminating') of a pure form of popular culture. The validity of presupposing the existence of any one cultural form that belonged to a particular social group has already been questioned. The list of chapbook titles in the Lauriston castle collection was shown to suggest that chapbooks catered for both popular and élite groups in society as well appealing to rural and urban tastes. Furthermore, unlike French chapbooks, the content of Scottish chapbooks did not seem to be dominated by the popularised version of 'high culture' through literary traditions such as chivalric romances which originated in Latin. Lastly, it is argued that chapbooks are be studied by analysing not only their content, in other words, the production side, but also the way in which those chapbooks were read and understood by various groups of readers. This point will be exemplified through the 'reader-oriented' analysis of chapbooks in the following three chapters. Such reading will lead us to conclude that not only did Scottish chapbooks cater for the tastes of different clientele by providing a wide range of titles, but also that the understanding of the same title could differ from one reader to another. In short,

because of the 'open' nature of chapbooks - open to different social groups - they provided very different social groups within Scottish society with a common vocabulary to discuss all aspects of the nation.

Other questions arise from these findings. How analogous is class identity to national identity, for example? The next three chapters will examine the construction of Scottishness in these chapbooks, and examine how the different classes understood the nature of nationhood by reading them. This chapter analyses the content of chapbooks in relation to two Scottish historical heroes from the medieval period: Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce. The minute reading of chapbooks will reveal how its content was different from the Scottish historiography of the period, and this will lead to the necessity in exploring the way the readership understood the meaning of the word 'nation', so fundamental to the construction of national identity. Meanwhile, the next three chapters will focus on finding what Scottish people regarded as the very essence of Scottish nationhood (the Scottish 'self') and what they took as the 'other' as it was constructed in these Scottish chapbooks.[1]

This chapter will firstly look at the theoretical issues concerned with the understanding of these chapbooks. In particular, the emphasis is placed on the usefulness of narrative analysis in interpreting contemporary historiography, both popular and academic, of national identity. The chapter will then analyse how the stories of the famous medieval Battle of Bannockburn (1314) and the role of the Scottish king Robert Bruce on the battlefield were described in two Scottish chapbooks as well as in one academic book by the Scottish historian Tytler. While these chapbooks seem to be ambiguous about the meaning of the battle for the

Scottish nation in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, apart from it being a the victory of the Scottish nation over the tyrant Edward II, and about the rôle played by Robert Bruce, Tytler confidently argues that the victory at the battle field of Bannockburn brought back liberty to the Scottish nation and that its main contributor was Robert Bruce. The twentieth-century understanding of Bruce and Bannockburn is that it was the actions and death of William Wallace in 1305, becoming the martyr of the Scottish nation for his brave and selfless attempts to free his beloved nation from the English rule, which cleared the way for Bruce to achieve Scottish independence at Bannockburn in 1314. As Graeme Morton points out, projecting William Wallace as the national martyr is not a novel creation, because of the lack of evidence and the patriotic although often false poetry of Blind Harry from the fifteenth century, Wallace continued to be defined and re-defined according to the state of Scottishness and the nature of the Scottish nationhood down through the centuries.[2] However, the same heroes in the Scottish chapbooks were given a very different meaning. Although they were undoubtedly regarded as first-class heroes, they became so not because of their attempt to achieve an independent Scottish nation-state, but through their efforts to liberate the Scottish nation from the hand of tyranny, in this case Edward II. The narrative was anti-tyranny not political independence. Here the chapter argues that this is ascribed to the difference in the meaning of the word nation from the twentieth-century understanding.

2

[1] As for the discussion on this aspect of identity, see introduction of this thesis.

In the social sciences, narrative analysis is a well-developed methodology. However, what is narrative and why is it useful for the social historian? Theorists such as Donald Polkinghorne and Catharine Riessman define narrative as 'the kind of organizational scheme expressed in story form' or as 'story telling'.[3] Narrative is one way to transform human experience into a series of sequences meaningful to others. In this process, experience is 're-ordered' to construct with specific preferences suitable to the meaning for a story-teller.[4] This definition of narrative activity presupposes the existence of the well-spread set of rules to operate the narratives among people. Otherwise, if there is no such system, a listener cannot make sense of the 'story'. The analysis of narrative is an attempt to explore the conventional rules operating the narrative. It is a study of seeking what makes a story 'interesting' and 'novel' to a reader. This is where the significance of the methodology of narrative analysis lies for the social historians of national identity. Through narrative analysis, historians are able to decipher why and how each story of nationhood is told by and received in society. In this way, it is possible to understand how a group of people come to have a particular understanding of nationhood set in a certain historical context.

Vladimir Propp's work on Russian folk tales is a seminal attempt to understand how fairy tales are constructed in a particular set of plots through his formulation and use of narrative analysis.[5] In this process he discovered there are thirty narrative 'functions' to compose a Russian fairy tale. In other words, the combination of these thirty functional sub-stories generates the plethora of Russian

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[2] G. Morton, *William Wallace Man and Myth*, (Stroud, 2001) p. 32.
[3] D. E. Polkinghorne, *Narrative knowing and the human sciences* (Albany, 1988), p. 13, C. K. Riessman, *Narrative Analysis* (London, 1993), p. 1.
[4]Polkinghorne, *Narrative knowing*, pp.15-6.

fairy tales. The way in which these thirty functional sub-stories are combined, on the other hand, is not formulated haphazardly. Because of its particular function one sub-story is followed by a particular functional sub-story. This set of rules is shared by the people who belong to a particular culture. Thus a reader and audience can encounter something unexpected, which, meanwhile, is not entirely foreign.

Another contribution to the theorisation of narrative analysis comes from the Formalist movement. The Russian critic Viktor Shklovsky argues for distinguishing a 'plot' from a 'story'. While a 'story' is 'the raw temporal-causal sequence of narrated events', a 'plot' is 'the way in which these 'raw materials' are formally manipulated in unconventional ways that make the audience reconsider the usual ordering of events'.[6] It is the plot that makes each story different (and consequently interesting). As Propp argued, the uniqueness and unconventionality of the plot are also generated within the conventional regulations which both story-teller and audience are familiar with. The expectancy of something unexpected can be determined by the environment in which a story-teller and a listener are situated. Once a storyteller goes beyond this cultural and cognitive milieu in order to make his/her story unique and novel, a receiver cannot comprehend this narrated experience. So the stories 'have' to be conform to received wisdom, and the novelty of the stories have to be regulated and operated within precedence and custom shared by a community.

In applying narrative theory to an actual event, Susan Bell uses five functions of narrative which are essential constituents for what William Labov named a 'fully

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[5]V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, L. Scott (trans.) (Austin, 1968).
[6]F. Ginsburg, 'Dissonance and Harmony The Symbolic Function of Abortion in Activists' Life Stories', in Personal Narratives Group (ed.), *Interpreting women's lives: Feminist theory and personal narratives* (Indianapolis, 1989).

formed' narrative: an *orientation, complicating action , evaluation, resolution* and *coda.*[7] Each function corresponds to the roles of introduction, description, a storyteller's own analysis of description, conclusion and the description of the aftermath of a story. The analysis can reveal how personal experience was transformed into the sequence of events meaningful to a story-teller with the help of these five constituents.

The issue of how a story-teller constructs a story leads to another question of whether external factors could influence the form of constructing a story. Does a story-teller's 'cultural' environment determine the form of the story? Analysts such as Livia Polanyi hold that 'what stories can really be about is, to a very significant extent, culturally constrained'.[8] From this standpoint, Polanyi argues that there is a particular manner in story-telling rooted on the American culture. Faye Ginsburg is also interested in this 'external' element of narrative by investigating how the informant's personal narrative about the experience of abortion is linked to the 'dynamics between social action and self-constitution for women in American culture'.[9] More recently, Stephen Correll argues:

> It is a story that can be told in many ways, but ultimately it can be reduced to something along the lines of 'we are the people who...'... in which the lacuna becomes a tale of some sort, a record of events. ... Constructing an ethnic identity involves, among other things, a gradual layering on and connecting of events and meanings, the construction of a collective narrative.[10]

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[7]S. E. Bell, 'Becoming a Political Woman: The Reconstruction and Interpretation of Experience Through Stories', in A. D. Todd and S. Fisher (eds.), *Gender and Discourse: The power of talk* (Norwood, 1988), p.102.

[8] L. Polanyi, 'So What's The Point?', *Semiotica*, 25 (1979), p. 207.

[9]Ginsburg, 'Dissonance and Harmony', p. 61. See also, C. Cadzen and D. Hymes, 'Narrative Thinking and Story-Telling Rights: A Folklorist's Clue to a Critique of Education', *Keystone Folklore*, vol. 22.

[10] S. Correll, 'That's the Story of Our Life, Ethnicity and Narrative, Rupture and Power' (draft copy, 1997), p.3. I am grateful for Professor Spickard of the University of California Santa Barbara for letting me read this paper along with the draft copy of his own paper titled 'We are a People'. These draft copies were written for a book edited by Professor Spickard. See, P. Spickard and W. J. Burroughs (eds.), *We Are a People Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity* (Philadelphia, 2000). A similar argument can be found in Roy Foster's recent article. R. Forster,

This argument contains the potential danger of distorting the meaning of narrative to the favour of an analyst, however. An analyst can knowingly or unknowingly manipulate a personal narrative in order to create the analyst's own narrative. In other words, the question is how to define this 'external environment'. For instance, is it possible to define and find a monolithic and coherent manner of story-telling which would represent American culture? The relation of the informant's personal narrative and the *grand* narrative of external elements can be 'crooked' by the analyst.[11] Or, it is not 'crooked', if a story reveals how a story-teller's own position is influenced by the 'external environment' through narrative analysis, and this might mean what a story tells us is also how a story-teller perceives the 'external environment' in which they are located. Here, it is vital to recognise that this 'external environment', say cultural, political, economic or social, is in fact the perception of the story-teller. In this sense, how a story and its 'external environment' are related is similar to the relationship between language and society, as Peter Burke theorised.[12] Like the relationship of language and society, a story and the external environment interact with each other rather than a story being a mere representation of its external environment.[13]

One significant difference between the cases cited above and narrative in history is that there is no way to directly communicate to a story-teller in history. In

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'Storylines: narratives and nationality in nineteenth-century Ireland', G. Cubitt (ed.), *Imagining Nations* (Manchester, 1998), in particular see pp.39-40:
...the compelling notion of a Story of Ireland, with all the implications of plot, narrative logic and desired outcome, reached its apogee in the later nineteenth century; the historiography thus created was intimately connected with the discovery of folk-tale, myth and saga as indices of the national experience. **The development of Irish nationalism was strongly influenced by the transference of these forms into the narrative of nationality** (my emphasis).

[11] Riesmann, *Narrative Analysis*, pp. 27-34.

[12] See chapter one.

an interview, an analyst has the opportunities to clarify the informant's story. Moreover, Bell's analysing method on how a story is told - conversational indicators - is not an available option in history. What a historian faces is a 'cleaned up' written text which could be written for another purpose, as Morton duly points out.[14] The nature of a written version of narrative concerning the past events differs from the performance of oral poetry even if both deal with the same subject.[15] On the other hand, this difference does not completely deny the communal (or context bound) aspect of a historical narrative.[16] The way of enplotment in the narrative reflects a historian's and a story teller's own position. The ways of connecting each event and in choosing particular events themselves totally depend on the historian to order and to 'make sense' of the human experience in the past, which in turn has to comply with the customs and cultural 'regulations' of a community they and their intended audience belong to.[17] In this sense, the past is firmly connected to the present in writing history. To explore why a particular historical narrative is written in a particular plot is to explore another history which determines the plot.[18] Analysing historical narratives in Scottish chapbooks published during this period, therefore, enables an analyst to study how contexts of these chapbooks such as social, cultural and economic changes influenced the ways of constructing these narratives, as well

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[13] This issue is going to be discussed further in chapter seven in relation to historians' current debate on the language of class.

[14] Ibid., p. 31. G. Morton, 'Presenting the self: record linkage and referring to ordinary historical persons', *History and Computing*, vi (1) (1994).

[15] W. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, H. Zohn (trans.), (London, 1992), p. 87, Ong, *Orality and Literacy* and Finnegan, *Oral poetry*.

[16] In this study, the words 'historical narrative' is used as the meaning of a written narrative dealing with the past events.

[17] W. Cronon, 'Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative', *The Journal of American History*, 78 (1992)

[18] Cronon, 'Place for Stories', p. 1373. H. White, *The Content of the Form Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), p. 29.

as allowing us to examine how these chapbooks represented their perception of the 'social' reality of Scotland in the given period.[19]

3

Three narratives have been chosen for their close reading of the story of the battle of Bannockburn and the role played by the Scottish king Robert Bruce. They are a historical ballad, a historical account and the excerpt from Patrick Fraser Tytler's *The History of Scotland.*[20] Whereas the first two narratives are from chapbooks, the last one was written by the leading Scottish academic historian of the period, who was a son of Alexander Tytler, the professor of universal history and Roman antiquities at Edinburgh University (later Lord Woodhouselee).[21] As the biography of Tytler is going to be examined in chapter five with a particular emphasis on his academic and socio-political inheritance, this chapter merely points out that Tytler's *History* was a huge success among the Scottish bourgeois reading public and had an impact on Scottish historiography, as Tytler was a seminal figure, in Scottish historiography, of writing history in the manner of what we now regard as 'narrative history'.[22] The intention here is to demonstrate how differently the concept of nationhood was

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[19] H. White, 'Interpretation in History', *New Literary History*, 4 (1973), particularly, pp. 290-1.

[20] Anon., *The Battle of Bannockburn; An Old Heroic Ballad Fought on the 24th of June, 1314, by King Robert Bruce, with an army of 30,000, against King Edward II with an army of 30,000 men* (Edinburgh, n.d.) Anon., *Prophecies of Thomas Rhymer; The Ancient Scotch Prophet, containing the wonderful fulfilment of many of his Predictions; and those not yet accomplished. Collected, Examine, and now promulgated by Mr Allan Boyd, F.S.A. Sub-Deputy janitor's Clerk in the College of Hayti. With subjoined, an account of the Battle of Bannockburn, so fatal to Tyranny, and favourable to the Scottish Independence. Also the Cottager's Saturday night*, (Stirling, 1828), P. F. Tytler, *The History of Scotland*, VIII vols. (Edinburgh, 1828-41) This study uses the 1864 edition.

[21] On Tytler's comprehensive biography, see Ash, *Strange Death,* ch. 4. However, Ash's reading of Tytler differs from mine, which is explained in chapter five of this thesis.

[22] White, *Content of the Form*, p. 27. Tytler explains this in his preface:

constructed by these two chapbooks and an academic history book which had been written for different readers and in different historical circumstances. While the 'ballad' might represent the 'popular' and 'traditional' knowledge of the day, possibly being traced back its origin in oral tradition, the 'account' seems to reveal how the reading public of Scottish chapbooks perceived the battle of Bannockburn. Although there are some differences in these two chapbooks, both seem to share a common notion of the Scottish nation embodied by liberty which was based on the dialectics of the nation versus tyranny. Such projection of Scottish nationhood was also shared by other chapbooks writers, on Robert Bruce himself and on William Wallace more explicitly, demonstrating that these two chapbooks, the 'ballad' and the 'account', were at the centre of an historical understanding prevalent among the Scottish reading public of chapbooks at this time. In this sense, we have a case study demonstrating how nationhood was defined and re-defined within historical narratives according to authors, their intended readers, and their historical contexts. What Tytler's *History* reveals was, on the other hand, arguably the reflection of how his readers, mainly the Scottish bourgeoisie of the nineteenth-century, desired to see the event from their understanding of the nature of Scottish nationhood.

In terms of the readership of these chapbooks, they could be read by virtually every echelon of society, if for possibly different purposes. Tytler's *The History of Scotland* by contrast could reach only a limited section of society because of its outlook and more importantly because of its price as well as its content. The authorship of both 'ballad' and 'account' are not defined, although the 'account' was

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In the composition of the present work, I have anxiously endeavoured to examine the most authentic sources of information, and to convey to my reader a true picture of the time without prepossession of partiality. (Tytler, *History of Scotland*,(1841ed.) I., pp. v-vi.

supposed to be written by one Allan Boyd who was a sub-deputy janitor's clerk in the College of 'Hayti'.

All three narratives consists of the seven main events leading up to the Scottish victory at Bannockburn: the siege of Stirling castle, Edward's procession to Scotland, Robert's preparation, the skirmish between Clifford and Murray, the attack of de Boune on Robert, the battle at Bannockburn itself, and the defeat of the English. The thesis looks at how these seven events gave the narratives arguably different meanings.

An Old Heroic Ballad[23]

Firstly, the 'Ballad' consists of 59 stanzas. The first stanza is the summary of the entire narrative as well as the evaluation of the battle of Bannockburn, which is followed by the orientation of the narrative (stanza 2 to stanza 6). Here, the narrative depicts why Edward desired to claim the Scottish crown, why Robert is motivated by the desire to regain the lands conquered and to gain 'sweet revenge'. The episode of Stirling follows (7-9), which is the motivation for Edward to raise the army (10-12) so that 'They [the Scots] shall be slaves or clay' (10). The next eleven stanzas (13-23) are concerned with Robert's preparation for the battle which consists the sub-narrative within the grand narrative of the Battle of Bannockburn. Stanzas 13 and 14 play a role of 'orientation', introducing the sub-narrative, by locating the battlefield of Bannockburn (14). Stanzas 15 to 17 describe the *dramatis personae* of this battle (15). Stanza 19 to 21 describe Bruce's attempt to encourage his soldiers:

> If there be any cowards here,

[23] As for the whole text, see Appendix B of this thesis.

That are afraid to fall,

Let them retire before the fight,
And drag their servile chains;
While we, for Scotland's liberty,
Will drain our dearest veins. (stanzas 18, 19)

It is noticeable that the ballad introduces another motivation for Bruce to fight against Edward: the battle was not only for regaining the land lost to Edward but for the sake of 'Scotland's liberty'. The Scottish army then prepare to set up a trap (stanzas 22 and 23), but the plan for the trap is not ascribed to a particular character.

Another eleven stanzas (stanza 24 -stanza 34) are about the first skirmish between Thomas Randolph, the Earl of Murray (one of the commanders in the Scottish army) and Sir Robert Clifford (one of the English officers commanding cavalier), which can be regarded as a sub-narrative with its own narrative functions. Near St Ninians, Clifford meets Murray, and provokes him (orientation; introduction of the sub-narrative; stanzas 27 and 28). Murray attacks Clifford with rage, but Clifford encloses Murray (complicating; the description of the development of the event; 29-31). James Douglas asks Bruce to rescue Murray, and after initial refusal Robert allows this (complicating; stanza 32). However, as Douglas is half on the way to the rescue, the large English cavalry comes to prevent Douglas' intention (evaluation; the author's own interpretation of the event; stanza 33). However, Douglas gives a cheer and kills Clifford (evaluation and resolution; the author's interpretation and conclusion; stanza 34).

This episode is followed by that of Bohun's (Sir Henry de Boune) fight against Bruce (stanzas 35-39). A group of the English army led by Bohun come (orientation; stanza 35). Robert makes himself recognisable to distract the English army's attention from the trap (orientation; stanza 36). Bohun recognising Bruce tries

to kill him (complication; stanza 37). Yet, Bruce strikes him with the battle-axe (complication/ evaluation; stanza 38). Bohun falls, which is observed by both sides (resolution/ coda; the conclusion and the description of the aftermath of the event; 39).

The episode of the actual battle is described in only thirteen stanzas (40-52). Both armies pray for the victory (orientation; stanzas 40 and 41). The English attack, but fall into the trap, followed by a merciless attack commanded by Murray (complication; stanza 42). This inspires the English main cavalry's attack upon the Scottish army, which almost overwhelms the Scots despite their resistance (complication; stanzas 44-46). At this point the crowd of 20,000 'wives and old decrepit men, some lasses and young boys' (stanza 47) make war-like noise in disguise of the proper army (evaluation; stanzas 47 and 48). The English army takes this crowd as the fresh reinforcement and falls into panic and flee, including Edward II (resolution; stanzas 49-51). The place where Glocester (sic.: the Earl of Gloucester) died now is called the 'Fighting Ford' (coda;52)

The next five stanzas deal with the immediate aftermath (53-57). Douglas chases Edward for forty miles (orientation; stanza 53). Although Edward II is nearly caught, he manages to reach Berwick via Dunbar (complication/ evaluation; stanzas 54 and 55). When Edward II arrives at Bothwell, there is only one English general to greet him (resolution; stanzas 56). Back in London, he demands a ransom for the captive queen and daughter of Robert (coda; 57). The ballad ends in comparison of the death toll between both armies (stanzas 58 and 59).

These episodes or sub-narrative, in turn, come to take roles as narrative functions (plots) for the entire narrative:

Abstraction (1): praise on Robert Bruce
Orientation I (2-6): background of the battle
Orientation II (7-9): siege of the Stirling Castle
Complication I (10-23): preparation for war
Edward: declares his intention; assembles army
Robert: gathers army; Scotland's liberty as the goal; sets up the trap
Complication II (implicit Evaluation) (24-34): Murray is provoked by Clifford; Murray is encircled by Clifford; Douglas rescues; Douglas kills Clifford
Complication III (implicit Evaluation) (35-39): Robert's crafty trick; Bohun defies Robert; Robert kills Bohun
Complication IV/Evaluation (40-52): the English cavalry entrapped; the English army overwhelms; the English are tricked by the disguised crowd; the English and Edward flee
Resolution (53-57): Edward manages to escape from Douglas's pursuit; only one general receives Edward; Edward demands for the ransom of the Scottish Queen
Coda (58-59): the comparison of death toll in both armies.

By analysing the entire story and extracting the skeleton plot, it reveals how the ballad desired to make its readers understand the story of Bannockburn, which was regulated by the readers' collective understanding of world view. At the beginning, Robert Bruce was acclaimed as the heroic figure:

> In days of did Scottish bards,
> Our heroes' acts proclaim,
> An' 'mong the chief was Robert Bruce,
> A king of nobles fame. (stanza 1)

This theme is maintained through the narrative by listing his military prowess, craftiness and valour. However, he does not appear on the actual battlefield of Bannockburn. Even though his commanders are on the battlefield, their contribution to the Scottish victory is apparently secondary to that of the crowd. The main element in the evaluation is the crowd of wives, old men, young girls and boys, although they need Robert and his commanders who of course played a preparative rôle for the victory. This is interesting contrast with the title itself: 'An Old Heroic Ballad'.

Another point is the peculiar absence of a voice acclaiming how important this victory was for the sake of Scottish liberty. Robert claims the war against Edward as the war for Scottish liberty in '**Complication I**':

> In front our brave king Robert rode,
> And thus address'd them all:
> If there be any cowards here,
> That are afraid to fall,
>
> Let them retire before the fight,
> And drag their servile chains;
> While we, for Scotland's liberty,
> Will drain our dearest veins.
>
> See how the Southern lowns approach,
> And think that we will fly;
> Then let us forward to the fight,
> And either do or die.
>
> So spoke the gallant Bruce, and all
> His men, with loud huzzas,
> Cry'd, eager to be led to charge,
> We'll die for freedom's cause. (stanzas 18-21)

However, this voice appears in neither resolution nor coda, despite the Scots' victory implying it should. As resolution and coda normally play a central role in deciding the meaning of the event, this absence of the powerful sub-narrative defining the victory at Bannockburn as Scotland's victory in the ending of the story is notable. As we will see below and in chapters three and four, this was probably related to the issue of how the reading public of the Scottish chapbooks wanted to understand Robert Bruce. Although he was a hero in the chronicle of Scottish liberty, his role was secondary to William Wallace. Such a view was partly formed by their understanding of the character of Robert Bruce, especially in comparison with William Wallace. Another reason could be ascribed to their perception of the nature of Scottish liberty and that of the Scottish monarch of the pre-Union past. If this was the case, how did another chapbook of the Battle of Bannockburn describe the event?

Account of the battle of Bannockburn[24]

An Account of the battle of Bannockburn (1828) consists of two parts: the description of the historical background to the battle and the narrative of the battle.[25] The first half is given the roles of orientation and abstract of the whole account consisting of four paragraphs. In paragraph 1, Edward's motivation is revealed: to 'reduce that turbulent nation, which had put so many signal affront upon his father and himself' (orientation; 1)[26] He assembles the large army (complication i; paragraph 2). Robert raises his own army much smaller than Edward's but on that was experienced and well motivated (complication ii; paragraph 3). Both armies meet near Stirling and fight, Scotland wins. This victory was 'the most celebrated of any in the annals of that kingdom' (resolution, coda; paragraph. 4).[27] These 'introductory' episodes were followed by the descriptions of Upper Bannockburn and St Ninians where the English and Scottish armies were deployed (paragraphs 5-6). Paragraph 7 deals with the siege of Stirling castle and a truce between Sir Edward Bruce (Robert Bruce's brother) and Moubray.

The next paragraph is the episode of a skirmish between Clifford and Murray, which is a self-contained sub-narrative. Clifford was despatched to relieve the castle with 800 cavalry (orientation). The Scots realise it and Murray desires to intercept them with 500 horses (complication i). Both parties were equally valiant (complication ii). Douglas asks Robert to help Murray about which Robert was

[24] The whole text is in Appendix C.
[25] There are several editions in the Lauriston Castle Collection, printed in Edinburgh, Stirling and Falkirk between 1791 and 1828.
[26] *An Account of the battle of Bannockburn*, p. 12

unwilling but permits (complication iii). Before Douglas reaches the battlefield, the situation becomes in favour for Murray so he stops (evaluation). Murray gains the entire victory over Clifford (resolution). Two stones were placed for the commemoration of this skirmish (coda).

The next episode is about the situation just before the actual battle of Bannockburn (paragraph 9). Murray's victory invigorated the entire Scots army (orientation). The next day would decide the future of Scotland (interpretation/hindsight by the author):

> [that day] was to decide whether Scotland was henceforth to be an independent kingdom, or subject to a foreign yoke.[28]

In the morning, Bruce and his army attended a solemn mass (complication i). Bruce chooses the battlefield (complication ii). He orders to ditch and set up a trap in the morass on the left (evaluation). In addition to the natural advantage of their position, the Scottish army could take further advantage of the trench and trap (resolution).

Paragraph 10 narrates how the English mistake the Scots' behaviour. Just before the battle, the Scots kneel down in act of devotion (orientation/ complication). The English took this as the sign of submission (evaluation). They realise deceived, as the Scots rise and are ready for the battle (resolution). As the English start attacking the Scottish left wing, they are entrapped (paragraph 11).

The next episode is Bohun's attack on Robert Bruce (paragraph 12). The author argues that this incident is small on its own merit but became important (abstract). Bruce mounts on horseback and is wearing high-turban for distinction (orientation). Bohun recognised him and came to Robert for a single combat (complication). Bohun's attack missed and consequently he was killed by Robert

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[27] Ibid., p. 13.

(evaluation). Seeing a bold attack on Robert Bruce and his valour, the Scots were in high spirit and counter-attacked the English (resolution/coda).

The episode of the 'disguised crowds' is arranged in the final paragraph (paragraph 13). While some argue the incident as an 'accidental sally of patriotic enthusiasm', others ascribe it to 'a premeditated stratagem of Robert', which, in any case, suddenly changed the balance of the battle (abstract).[29] All the servants and attendants of the Scottish army disguised as the reinforcement (complication). The English were deceived (evaluation). George Buchanan, the sixteenth-century polemist, argues Edward fled first, which differs from all other historians' accounts of the event (resolution). The irregularity of the terrain facilitated the Scots to slaughter the English (resolution). Although closely chased by Douglas for forty miles, Edward managed to escape to Dunbar, and then went back to England on a fisher's boat (resolution). While the Scots lost 4,000, the loss of the English was more than 30,000 (coda).

The skeleton plot of the narrative is as follows:

Abstract (1-4): Edward assembled an army to achieve the crown of Scotland; Robert raised his army; they fought at Bannockburn; Scotland won; the most celebrated victory
Orientation I (5-6): the English positioned at Upper Bannockburn; the Scots was near St Ninians
Orientation II (7): siege of the Stirling Castle; a truce between Sir Edward Bruce and Moubray
Complication I/Evaluation I (8): Murray intercepts Clifford; Douglas tries to rescue Murray; Murray wins; the Scottish army invigorated
Complication II/Evaluation II (9): a solemn mass for the Scots; Robert's order for entrenchment and a trap
Evaluation III (10): the English mistook the Scots' act of devotion
Complication III/ Evaluation IV (11): The English on the left entrapped

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[28] Ibid., p.16.
[29] Ibid., p.19.

Evaluation V (12): Bohun recognises Robert; Bohun's attack misses; Robert kills Bohun; The Scots rushed furiously on the increased English
Evaluation VI/ Resolution/Coda (paragraph. 13): the disguised Scottish servants and attendants march to the hill; the English mistook; the English fell into panic; Edward fled; Douglas chased; Edward went back to England; comparison of the death toll between two armies

One thing noteworthy is the insertion of religious factors: a solemn mass and the misunderstanding of the English:

> As the two armies were about to engage, the Abbot of Inchaffery posting himself before the Scots with a crucifix in his hand, they all fell down upon their knees in act of devotion.[30]

This gives the story the twist- the godly Scots—implying that because the Scots were devoted Christians, the Scots could win the battle their military prowess aside. However, this thesis is not used in the manner of the dialectic of the godly Scots and the ungodly English. Rather the dialectic used in this plot is the Scots against dim-witted English. The narrative seems to argue that the Scots could win the battle by their military prowess being 'helped' by their godliness. This godliness is confined not to Robert Bruce but heaped upon the Scots: Bruce, then, is not described as a mythologized figure or 'godly prince of the Christian world'. This lack of the process of mythologizing Bruce is also found in the earthly business of military operation. Although it was Bruce who ordered to entrench and set up the trap and killed Bohun, the victory of Murray over Clifford apparently has equal significance. Moreover, the sudden appearance of the disguised army is taken as the main reason for the rout of English:

> All the servants and attendants of the Scottish army, who, are said to have amounted to twenty thousand, had been ordered, before the battle, to retire behind Murray's Craig. But having, during the engagement, arranged themselves in a martial form they marched to the top of the hill, and displaying banners, moved towards the field of battle with hideous shouts. The English perceiving this motely crowd, and taking them for a fresh reinforcement

[30] Ibid., p.17.

advancing to support the Scots, were seized with so great a panic, that they began to give way in confusion.[31]

The Scottish victory largely hinges on the ir fortune . Equally lacking is that the potent plot of signifying the most celebrated victory as a token of Scottish independence. The narrative abruptly ends with the record of death toll in both armies, although the title suggests that the victory was 'favourable to' the Scottish independence. Rather, it was the decisive victory against 'Tyranny'. This plot, on the other hand, encourages neither nationalist flair nor Anglophobia. The battle of Bannockburn in this narrative is the victory against the abstract enemy 'tyranny'.

The meaning of this particular configuration of the battle of Bannockburn and Robert Bruce found in the 'Ballad' and the 'Account' becomes clear, when we read these two stories with other chapbooks on the same subject. For instance, the ending of another ballad 'The memorable Battle of Bannockburn' is similar to that of the 'Ballad' by placing the 'liberty plot' at its centre:

> Thus ended the dread Campaign of Edward the Great;
> Thus vanish'd into smoke every formidable threat;
> While the riches of his camp did repay the victors toil,
> Who gloriously expos'd their lives to guard the Scottish soil,
> The generous love of liberty, our country and our laws,
> Thus fir'd our noble ancestors to fight in Freedom's cause;
> They boldly fought for liberty, for honour and applause,
> And defy'd the power of England's king to alter their laws.[32]

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[31] *Account of the Battle of Bannockburn* p. 19. *Old Heroic Ballad* describes this as the following:
When on the top of Gillies-Craig,
Appeared in their sight,
A crowd, like twenty thousand men,
Which were no men of fight;

But wives and old decrepit men,
Some lasses and young boys,
With plaids and sheets waving on poles,
Who made a warlike noise.

The English soon perceived this,
With terror and affright,
And judg'd their safety was not sure,
So every man took a warlike noise. (p. 7.)

Thus, the Scottish victory was again defined as that achieved by the 'noble ancestors' rather than Robert Bruce for the sake of the nation's freedom, meanwhile the third line of this stanza is suggestive by describing the ominous fate of the English nobles 'the riches'. Yet, it is not clear if this ballad attempted to define the narrative in terms of the dialectics of the rich and the poor, as there is no mention of such dichotomy throughout the ballad.

The sense of ambiguity present in the role of Robert Bruce as the hero of the Scottish nation and liberty seems to be derived from his ambivalent attitudes towards Wallace during his campaign against Edward I and Bruce's relations to John Comyn, whose intention of succeeding the Scottish crown was as strong as it was for Bruce, another competitor to the Scottish throne:

> Such the nobles as thought they had a right to the vacant throne, stood forward to claim in it; and among the competitors for the regal honour were Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick—whose grandfather had formerly disputed the throne with John Baliol—and John Comyn, of Badenoch, generally styled the *Red Comyn*, to distinguish him from his kinsman, the *Black Comyn*, so called from his swarthy complexion. These powerful barons assisted the immortal Wallace in the wars against England; but after defeat at Falkirk, they not only acknowledged Edward as king of Scotland, but bore arms against their patriotic countrymen, who resolved rather to die in defence of their rights, than submit to the tyrant's way.[33]

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[32] Anon., 'The memorable Battle of Bannockburn, fought on the 25th of June 1314 A heroic ballad', in Anon., *Four excellent new songs. A new song, compose on Lochwnioch Loch while observing the famous Curling Match betwixt his Grace the Duke of Hamilton and William M'Dowal, Esq; of Castle Semple, Janur 5 , 1785, The memorable Battle of Bannockburn, fought on the 25th of June 1314 A heroic ballad, Galloping Dreary Run, Widdle Waddle* (n. p., 1785), p. 6. And a similar account is found in Anon., The history of King Robert Bruce containing the memorable Battle of Bannockburn (Edinburgh, n. d.). This chapbook describes that the Scottish patriots 'resolved rather to die in defence of their rights than submit to the tyrant's way for a moment'. (p. 2.)

[33] Anon., *The Life of King Robert Bruce* (Glasgow, n. d.), pp. 3-4. Comyn was also accused of his selfish motivation for the Scottish crown:

Having in this castle intercepted divers of John Cumming's friends, he procured them to draw him to a parley with him; in which he so blinded him with the hopes of the kingdom, and wit dear of utter undoing, that he joined himself and his friends to the English; who, by this accession, easily passed forward with the course of victory, as far as the utmost bounds of Ross; and in his back coming, carried away with him into England all books, registers, histories, laws and monuments of the kingdom: and among others, the fatal marble chair, whereupon the former Scots Kings used to be crowned at Scoon, on which was engraved a prophecy 'That wherever this chair should be transported, the Scots should command there'. (Anon., *The Life and Adventure of Sir William Wallace*

It was arguably this element in Bruce's past, assisting the English army to fight against the Scottish patriots, that made the authors and the readers of the Scottish chapbooks uneasy about canonising Bruce as the champion of Scottish liberty. Yet despite such uneasiness, Bruce was succoured from becoming the traitor to the Scottish nation through several episodes. Firstly, the haughtiness of some Englishmen infuriated Bruce to fight against the tyrant Edward I:

> Bruce's feelings are believed to have been roused by the following incident—In one of the battles which took place between the English and the Scotch, Bruce had assisted the former in gaining the victory. After the battle, he sat down to dinner without washing his hands, on which were spots of blood, which he had shed during the action. "Look at that Scotchman," whispered some the English to their messmarates, "eating his own blood." Bruce felt the cutting remark, and, reflecting that it might well be styled his own blood, seeing it was that of his countrymen, who were struggling for their national independence, rose from table, and vowed that he would use every exertion to deliver his country from the iron yoke of Edward.[34]

The famous episode of Bruce and spider, which was in fact fabricated by Walter Scott, follows this incident in some chapbooks printed in the nineteenth-century:

> He thought that he had fought six battles against the English, and that the poor spider was exactly in the same situation with himself, having made as man trials, and been as often disappointed. "Now", thought Bruce, "as I have no means of knowing what is best to be done, I will be guided b the luck which shall make attend this spider. If it shall make another effort to fix its thread, and shall be successful, I will venture I will go to the wars in Palestine, and return to my land no more."[35]

After the spider episode, another episode is used to fortify the status of Robert Bruce as part of the canon of the Scottish patriots. After Bruce escaped from the English attempt to assassinate him, he wandered around the countryside and found the house of an old woman:

> Seeing a stranger enter, she inquired who he was. Bruce replied that he was a traveller journeying through the country. "All travellers," said the good woman, "are welcome here for the sake one." "And who is that one," inquired Bruce, "for whom you make all travellers welcome?" "It is Robert Bruce, our lawful king," replied the good old woman; "and although he is now pursued ad hunted with hounds ..., I trust I shall be spared to see him king over all Scotland." "Since you love Robert Bruce so well, good woman," replied the king, "know that

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General and governor of Scotland with the valiant exploits of King Robert Bruce (Greenock, n. d.), pp. 15-16.)

[34] Ibid., p. 9. A similar account is also found in *The history of King Robert Bruce*, p. 5

[35] *The Life of King Robert Bruce*, p. 8, *The history of King Robert Bruce*, p. 7, Morton, *William Wallace*, p. 147.

> I am Robert Bruce." "You!" exclaimed the brave old lady; "and wherefore are you this alone?—where are all your men?" "I have none with just me now," answered Bruce, "and there I must travel alone," "That shall not be," said his brave hostess, "for I have two stout and gallant sons, who shall be our servants for life or death." The loyal old dame, having made her sons swear fidelity to their king, was preparing his supper…[36]

The canonised status of Robert Bruce was, thus, secured through several episodes. Even though this was the case, the victory at Bannockburn was not wholly ascribed to the military prowess of Robert Bruce. On this account, these 'pro-Bruce' chapbooks seem to share the episode of the sudden emergence of the Scottish crowd with the 'Ballad' and the 'Account', although these 'pro-Bruce' chapbooks also try to enhance the role of Bruce's military skill in the victory:

> While the disorder was thickening among the English ranks, their consternation was augmented by the appearance of a second Scottish army, which seemed to be advancing along the edge of a hill, as if for the purpose of cutting off their retreat. This was the band of idle attendants before noticed, and whom Bruce had provided with military standards and other equipments, so as to give them the semblance of an army. Panic struck by this unlooked for and unwelcome appearance, the English fled in dismay.[37]

As we have seen, while the battle of Bannockburn tended to be described as the memorable moment for the Scottish nation which regained her liberty from the hands of tyrant Edward I, the status of Robert Bruce as the champion of the cause of Scottish liberty was not certain even among the most 'pro-Bruce' chapbooks. If this was indeed the case, how did the nineteenth-century historian Patrick Fraser Tytler describe the battle in his book?

The History of Scotland[38]

[36] *The Life of King Robert Bruce*, p. 12.
[37] Anon., *History of the Life and Death of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland* (Glasgow, n. d.), p. 22, *The history of King Robert Bruce*, p. 16 and *The Life of King Robert Bruce*, p. 14.
[38] The whole text is in Appendix D.

The excerpt from Tytler's *History* (1828-41) is taken from Edward's decision to rescue Stirling Castle till the victory of the Scots at Bannockburn.[39] Tytler's narrative consists of six sub-narratives.

In the first episode, Edward assembled an army of more than 100,000 men (orientation). Edward went to Berwick to meet his army (complication). Robert knew Edward's move (complication/ evaluation), and his raised army amounted to less than 40,000 men (evaluation). Robert decided to fight at Bannockburn because of its strategic advantage (evaluation/resolution). He set up a trap (evaluation/resolution).

The second episode comprises the third episode which influences the direction of the second episode. The Scottish army came to know the arrival of the English at Edinburgh (orientation). The next morning, after a mass Robert asked the willingness of his army to fight, which was answered by the soldiers' eagerness (complication). Robert deployed his army (complication). Edward dispatched Clifford. Murray tried to intercept Clifford, but his first attack failed (complication) Douglas asked Robert's permission, to which Robert opposed but later he consented (evaluation).

Here, the third episode is inserted. Robert was in the front of his line (orientation). Robert was recognisable (orientation). De Boune recognised Robert, and forwarded to attack (complication). Before De Boune attacked Robert, he killed De Boune (evaluation/resolution). The narrative returns to the second episode. Douglas came to rescue Murray and encourages him to fight (evaluation). Murray fought furiously and won (resolution).

The fourth episode starts with Robert's confession and a mass for his army (orientation). The Scots kneel down (orientation). Edward asked Umfraville about its

[39]Tytler, *History of Scotland*, I., pp. 113-123.

meaning (complication). Umfraville confirmed the willingness of the Scots to fight and advised Edward on strategy (complication). Edward rejected the advice (evaluation). The English cavalry started attacking, which met the earnest resistance of the Scots as well as the trap (evaluation). The Scottish 'sulters and camp-boys' appeared on the top of the hill in disguise (evaluation).[40] The English army fell into panic, because they believed this as the reinforcement (evaluation). Robert, realising this change on the battlefield, pushed the English furiously (evaluation). This last charge decided the battle (evaluation). The English attempted to flee from the battlefield (resolution). The 30,000 English were left dead (resolution).

Edward tried to escape in the fifth episode. Edward was forced to escape (orientation) Douglas chased Edward with 60 horse (complication/evaluation). Edward managed to reach Berwick (resolution).

The last episode is Tytler's evaluation of the battle. The 'determined courage' and the 'high military talents' of the King and his commanders and the army won the battle, according to Tytler.[41] Moreover, it was this battle that 'put an end forever to all hopes upon the part of England of accomplishing the conquest of her sister country'. Tytler traces the origin of the English desire to the beginning of his *History*, the succession of Alexander III of Scotland. He also argues that the victory had influenced Scottish history and liberty till Tytler's day, otherwise Scotland would have been an English conquered province:

> Nor have the consequences of this victory been partial or confined. Their duration throughout succeeding centuries of Scottish history and Scottish liberty, down to the hour in which this is written, cannot be questioned; and without launching out into any inappropriate field of historical speculation, we have only to think of the most obvious consequences which must have resulted from Scotland becoming a conquered province of England; and it wish for proof, to fix our eyes on the present condition of Ireland, in order to feel the reality of all that

[40] Ibid., p.120.
[41] Ibid., p.123.

we owe to the victory at Bannockburn, and to the memory of such men as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas.[42]

The skeleton plot is extracted as follows:

Orientation: the preparation of both kings
Complication/Evaluation I: the skirmish between Clifford and Murray; Murray intercepted Clifford; Murray in crisis; Douglas went to rescue... (**Evaluation II**) Douglas encouraged Murray; Murray won
Evaluation II: de Boune's attack on Robert; de Boune recognises Robert; de Boune tried to attack Robert; Robert kills de Boune
Evaluation III: the battle of Bannockburn; a mass; Edward asked Umfraville; Umfraville advised Edward; Edward rejected it; first English attack; brilliant Scottish defence; the appearance of the disguised army; the English fell into confusion; Robert's last charge on the confused; the English rout
Resolution I: Edward managed to return to England
Resolution II/Coda: the English hope to conquer vanished; the Scottish liberty kept

In Tytler's narrative, the fact of the victory is ascribed mainly to the King, Robert Bruce. In the evaluation III which is the core episode, the English cavalry's strength was firstly neutralised by the Scottish spear-men as well as the trap ordered by Bruce. However, his strategic ability to read a situation brought the Scots the decisive victory. Thus, Tytler's plot is about how Bruce could win the battle with the help of his commanders and people. Another important plot in his narrative is that the battle resulted in the gain of Scotland's liberty. Once these two plots were combined, Tytler's narrative is the story of how Robert Bruce regained a long-lost liberty for Scotland. Tytler's way of using *dramatis personae* is noteworthy as well. The English are not necessarily characterised as the 'villain'. It is, rather, Edward, who is used as the rival of Robert. The battle of Bannockburn in Tytler's *History* is thus the story of rivalry between two kings rather than two kingdoms. Scotland's 'national liberty' was regained by one royal hero from his rivals. In the next section,

[42] Ibid., p.123.

these three stories of the Battle of Bannockburn will be compared to each other in order to 'make sense' of differences arising from them.

4

All three narratives include the element of patriotic sentiment to some extent. However, this element is not used against the enemy: England. The function of patriotism in these narratives seems to acclaim Scottish liberty. As discussed above, in the 'Ballad', the plot of patriotism is given rather a subordinate role. Furthermore, the appearance of the disguised crowd in the 'Ballad' - the main element of changing the course of the battle- is not directly connected to this plot of regaining Scottish liberty. In this sense, the 'Ballad' is not really the story of the victory of the ordinary people over the Tyrant Edward II. On the other hand, the 'Account' can be regarded as blessing the godliness of the Scots, but this victory of 'godliness' is against the general enemy of 'tyrant' rather than against the English *per se*. Tytler's eulogy on Robert Bruce is not coupled with his blame on England. Why was it that the story of Bannockburn was written in this particular manner?

The answer to this question is divided into two parts. Firstly, as will be discussed in depth in chapters three and four, the notion of Scottish nationhood in the chapbooks was partly configured in accordance with their readers' political creed. In both popular radicalism and popular loyalism, the concept of nationhood based on the dialectic of the nation versus tyranny was used to legitimise their activity. Furthermore, despite some exceptions, both ends of the political spectrum did not project England as their otherness or enemy. In the case of radicalism, it was the state

which was controlled by the 'corrupt' aristocracy while loyalism targeted Napoleon-led France. Secondly, in the case of Tytler, one answer lies in the nature of the nineteenth-century Anglo-Scottish relationship. At least in the political sense, the English were no longer the mortal enemy but their new ally and the Scots intelligentsia attempted to demonstrate the unified nature of the British 'nation' by naming Scotland 'North Britain'.[43] This made the Scots' attitude to the English very ambiguous.[44] The Anglo-Scottish relations could no longer be discussed in a simple dichotomy of Scotland and England as 'goodies' and 'baddies'. Yet, the battle itself was a proud and glorious moment for the Scots, as the event could propagate the historical authenticity of the Scottish independence and liberty.

Another noteworthy point is that Robert Bruce was not really treated as 'the' patriotic hero in all three stories. As argued above, although there are some eulogies to the military prowess of Robert, the victory on the battlefield was attributed to the Scottish servants in these chapbooks. On the other hand, the narratives did not take a populist approach to Scottish patriotism. Both narratives glorified neither royalist nor populist tendencies. Apathy to the Scottish monarch did not directly lead people to revolt against the British crown as happened in France.[45] Rather because of the political upheaval in France - the prime enemy of Britain - most Scots and even the radicals were hesitant to join any movements similar to the French Revolution, toppling the British state in order to establish the Scottish republic.[46] Thus, the

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[43] C. Kidd, 'North Britishness and the nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms', *HJ*, 39, (1996).

[44] This ambiguous nature of Scottish patriotism is well expressed in Walter Scott's works, for instance see his critique of the movement to set up a single British currency in *Malachi Malagrowther*. This is further discussed in chapter five.

[45] See chapter three for further discussion on this issue.

[46] One of the most powerful examples of dissuading people from the radicalism is Anon., *Right and Equality, Constitution, Organization, and Kings, explained; or one penny worth of truth in an ingenious letter from Thomas Bull to his brother John To which are added the ten commandments as*

victory of Bannockburn had to be achieved by Robert Bruce with considerable help from his servants against tyrannical Edward II. And no longer was the battlefield of Bannockburn the symbol of the Scottish victory over the English nation for Scotsmen, as humorously described in one chapbook:

> Two English gentlemen, sometime ago, visited the field of Bannockburn, so celebrated for the total defeat of the English army, by Robert the Bruce, with an army of Scotch heroes, not one fourth their number: - A sensible countryman pointed out the positions of both armies, the stone, where the Bruce's standard was fixed during the battle, &c. Highly satisfied with his attention, the gentleman, on leaving him, pressed his acceptance of a crown-piece: - 'Na, na,' said the honest man, returning the money, 'keep your crown-piece, the English had paid dear enough already for seeing the field of Bannockburn.'[47]

Thus, this patriotism was lacking a sense of England as the 'other' in these narratives and which was derived from the present 'reality' – of post-Union Scotland, although the nature of patriotism in the two chapbooks was seemingly differed from that of Tytler.[48] These narratives were the mirrors of the present political status of Scotland as part of Great Britain. Another point in common is that they are not projecting this past into the future. Having started to publish in 1828 and completed in 1841, Tytler's narrative ends with the confirmation of the *status quo* of Scotland, but he did not predict Scotland's future out of his narrative on Scotland's past. Tytler very much fits the mould of the kind of historian defined by Walter Benjamin:

> [he/she] explain[s] in one way or another the happenings with which he deals; under no circumstances can he content himself with displaying them as models of the course of the world.[49]

Likewise, the other two narratives printed in the early-nineteenth century are not playing the role of Benjamin's history chroniclers:

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they are now adopted in France also, King, Liberty, and Laws a New Song (Dumfries, n.d.). This type of conservative literature seems to have swamped Scottish chapbook market, but it is as well questionable if people really read them and followed the advice. As for further discussion of opposition to radicalism and this chapbook, see chapter three.

[47] Anon., *Laugh and grow Fat! Or the comical budget of wit. A selection of choice bon mots, Irish Blunders, Reparlees, Anecdotes, &c* (Stirling, 1828), pp. 2-3.

[48] Patriotism in the age of Scott and Tytler are examined in chapter five.

[49] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, p. 95.

> By basing their historical tales on a divine plan of salvation - an inscrutable one- they have from the very start lifted the burden of demonstrable interpretation, which is not concerned with an accurate concatenation of definite events, but with the way they are embedded in the great intractable course of the world.

The social anthropologist, Jonathan Spencer, using these concepts argues that the 'agents' of nationalism are 'the history chroniclers' defined by Walter Benjamin.[50] Unlike Spencer's example of a Sinhala village, these three Scottish narratives are, at most, the explication of the British present conserving historical Scottish liberty. They are the explanation of the history of Scotland in Britain, neither the history of an independent nation-state nor a prophecy or aspiration to be. In this sense, the lack of England as the Scottish nation's otherness related to the present in these three narratives might be the reflection of the 'inward' looking Scottish patriotism of the nineteenth century - the patriotism of a stateless nation, though the definition and usage of patriotism differed in time and its users. What Scottish patriotism needed was probably not prophecy but a firm voice to affirm the *status quo*.

So far, this chapter has been analysing how the memory of the battle of Bannockburn was accounted in three different narratives. While all three narratives seem to be written from the common vantage point of the Scottish victory regaining precious Scottish liberty rather than as a mere victory over the English, their perception of nationhood and patriotism seems to be different between the two chapbook narratives and Tytler's account. Furthermore, Robert Bruce who led the Scottish army on the battlefield of Bannockburn was not wholly canonised as the champion of the Scottish liberty in some chapbooks. The reason for this has been partly explained by Bruce's attitudes to William Wallace's campaign against Edward I. If so, how did the chapbooks present William Wallace? This is the main theme of

the next section, and the reading of the chapbooks on Wallace will further explain why Robert Bruce did not receive a full and straightforward treatment as the hero of Scottish nationhood.

5

Sir William Wallace was another frequently used historical icon in these Scottish chapbooks.[51] At first glance, unlike the chapbooks on the battle of Bannockburn and the rôle played by Robert Bruce on the battle field, the stories about the life of William Wallace are much less ambiguous about Wallace's patriotic contribution to the Scottish nation, as found in *The History of Sir William Wallace*.[52] In the first paragraph of the chapbook, Wallace was described as a full scale Scottish patriot:

> To few men is Scotland more indebted, and few have been more universally admired, than the renowned Sir William Wallace, whose memory still continues to flourish in the annals of Scotland with unfading glory. His patriotism, generosity, penetration, knowledge of human nature, address, courage, fortitude, perseverance, and prudence, rank him among the first of heroes.[53]

Such sentiment was shared by the mid-nineteenth century chapbook, *The life of the celebrated Scottish patriot Sir William Wallace*:

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[50]J. Spencer, 'Telling Histories: Nationalism and Nationalists in a Sinhala Village' (unpublished draft copy, 1989) pp. 6-7.

[51] As for the value of William Wallace and Robert Bruce as national heroes, see the studies of Marinell Ash, and more recently Graeme Morton. M. Ash, 'William Wallace and Robert the Bruce, the life and deathe of a national myth', in R. Samuel and P. Thompson, *The Myths We Live by* (London, 1990). G. Morton, 'The Most Efficacious Patriot: The Heritage of William Wallace in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *SHR*, 77 (1998), and idem., *William Wallace*.

[52] Anon., *The History of Sir William Wallace* (n. p., n. d.) Other titles on the life of William Wallace found in the Lauriston Castle Collection shows that substantial amount of chapbooks on William Wallace was printed in Newcastle, which appears to suggest William Wallace became a British historical icon, though there is a possibility that these Newcastle printers printed them for the Scottish market. This issue is further pursue in chapter three.

[53] *The History of Sir William Wallace*, p.1.

> Sir William Wallace, whose memory still continues to flourish in the annals of Scotland with unfading glory, was the youngest son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Eldersie, near Paisley, in Renfrewshire.[54]

Unlike Robert Bruce whose intention of fighting against was Edward I and II partly explained by his intention to regain the Scottish throne, Wallace's motivation was perceived as a genuine act of patriotism to fight against the tyranny of Edward I:

> The oppression and cruelty, however of the men left as governors of the different garrison, roused the spirit of the people, who only wanted the presence of some enterprising leader to rise up in a body against the English, and recover the liberty of their country. At this momentous period, such a leader rose in the person of SIR WILLIAM WALLACE, renowned in Scottish story... The power and address which he displayed - his various reencounters, - his miraculous escapes, - and the almost universal belief in the prediction of Thomas the Rhymer, that the tyranny of the English, produced a wonderful sensation among his countrymen, and numbers flocked to him from all quarters.[55]

Although one chapbook admits the scarcity of 'authentic sources' apart from epic verse, which was often historically inaccurate, found in Blind Harry's *Wallace*, other remaining sources, which were curiously not specified, suffice to authenticate the veracity and the genuine nature of Wallace's motivation for the act of patriotism:

> Waving, however, everything of a questionable nature, there are abundant authentic materials of which no doubt can be entertained, to establish his claim to the applause and gratitude of his country, especially when we consider the constancy of his attachment to her cause, when deserted by those whose duty it was to defend her - the extent and magnitude of his achievements, and the mighty power of the English monarch. Before entering on the history of his life, however, a brief outline of the quarrel which called his talents into action might not prove unnecessary.[56]

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[54] Anon., *The life of the celebrated Scottish patriot Sir William Wallace containing an account of his wonderful Exploits, and his Battles with the English &c, &c* (Glasgow, 1852), p. 3.

[55] Anon., *The Life of the celebrated Scottish Patriot Sir William Wallace* (Glasgow, n. d.), p. 4. This is also shared in *The Life of the celebrated Scottish patriot*:
Wallace beheld the oppressors of his countrymen with horror and indignation, sympathised with individual sufferers, and mourned the degradation of his native land. The base injustice and treachery of Edward's governors became the subject of general conversation, and the cruelty of his officers and men exasperated the nation to the highest pitch. (pp. 3-4.)

[56] Anon., *Life of Sir William Wallace* (Edinburgh, 1828) p. 6. This chapbook is unique in sense that it examines the bibliographical sources of Wallace:
The only life of him now in being, is that written by Blind Harry, many of whose stories are altogether unauthenticated by the corroborative testimony of any contemporary author... There was another history of this hero composed in Latin, partly by John Blair, and partly by Mr Thomas Gray, who had been his school-fellow, and latterly his companion in arms; but this has unfortunately been lost in the lapse of time, except a small fragments, published in 1705 with a commentary by Sir Robert Sibbald. (pp.2-3)
Blind Harry' *Wallace* was translated into modern Scots by William Hamilton in 1722, which proved an immense success during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (cf. J. F. Miller, 'Blind Harry's

Such sincerity of Wallace's motivation is not found in Robert Bruce, because his motivation was based on his desire to become the Scottish king rather than to become a liberator to the misery experienced by Scottish people under the tyrannical rule of Edward I.[57] Such a difference is exemplified by the episode of Edward I understanding of the true motivation behind Bruce and his followers' participation in Edward's army:

> Edward had been joined in this invasion by Bruce and his adherents, to which this nobleman was induced by the hope of obtaining the forfeited kingdom of his rival. The wary monarch knew how to keep alive these delusive effectations, and turn them to his own advantage; but on Bruce mentioning his claims, after Baliol and his son were made prisoners, he contemptuously asked, "Have we nothing else to do but to conquer kingdoms for you?" - Bruce silently retired, and passed the remainder of his days n opulent obscurity.[58]

Moreover, the people who initially answered Wallace's call to fight against Edward came from the lower orders:

> The followers of Wallace failing on their knees before the priests who chanced to be in the army, they asked forgiveness for having committed so much slaughter within the limits of a church dedicated to the services of God. But Wallace had so deep a sense of the injure which the English had done to his country, that he only laughed at the contrition of his soldiers,- "I will absolve you all myself," he said. "It is not half what the invaders deserved at our hands?" So deepseated was Wallace's feeling of national resentment, that it overcame, the scruple of a temper which was naturally humane.[59]

Unlike the narratives of Bannockburn, the victory at Stirling Bridge was regarded as Wallace's victory rather than his and his people's victory:

> This victory was so complete, and so important in its consequences, that the Scots who had deserted to the English submitted to Wallace, and hailed him as the deliverer of his country.

"Wallace"', *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, 3 (1915), p. 12. However, Morton recently qualifies this popularity of Hamilton's version of *Wallace* by suggesting that it was not the accessibility of Hamilton's text which caused its popularity but its dominance in the market and the acclamation of the contemporary writers such as Burns, James Hogg, Andrew Carnegie and T. B. Macaulay. (Morton, *William Wallace*, pp. 39-43.)

[57] *Life and Adventure of Sir William Wallace*, pp. 4, 6-7.

[58] *Life of Sir William Wallace*, p. 9.

[59] Anon., *History of Sir William Wallace The Renowned Scottish Champion. Containing an account of his Valiant Transactions against the English, and his mournful fate at London, after he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies: how he was put to death, and his body quartered, and sent to various places* (Glasgow, n. d.), pp. 17-8.

To complete the process of creating a heroic icon of Scottish patriotism, Wallace's disinterest in the Scottish Crown was added to his military success in his 'conversation' with Robert Bruce:

> "my thoughts never soared so high: I only mean to deliver my country from oppression and slavery, and support a cause which you have abandoned. But pause in time; if you have but the heart, you may win a crown with glory, and wear it with justice. I can do neither; but this I will do, I will live and die a free-born subject."[60]

The representation of Wallace's in the chapbooks attitude was also extraordinary in that the medieval aristocracy was defined as greedy and vindictive in the contemporary literature. Thus, William Wallace, being neither royal born nor an 'ordinary' aristocrat, could be used as an ideal figure of patriotic heroism who solely thought of his native nation, which was encapsulated in his supposedly last words before he was executed in London:

> "I tell you a truth, liberty is the best of things. My son, never live under a slavish bond. Therefore, I shortly declare, that if all others, the natives of Scotland, should obey the king of England, I and my associates, who may be willing to adhere to me in this point, will stand for the liberty of the kingdom, and, by God's assistance, will only obey the king or his lieutenant."[61]

However, the narrative does not uplift his patriotism by means of attacking the English as their mortal foe.[62] Again it was Edward I 'ambitious and crafty monarch' that was used as their enemy, giving readers an impression that the Scottish liberty

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[60] Ibid., p.18, *Life of Sir William Wallace*, pp. 19-20.

[61] *Life of Sir William Wallace*, p. 24.

[62] In many cases, his hatred was said to come from the murdering of his wife by the hands of the English army:

... Wallace had a hatred of the English which no time could lessen or remove, arising from an ardent love of liberty, aggravated, no doubt, by the cruelties and oppression of Edward's soldiers, as well as the personal injuries he had suffered, in the murder of his wife, and the death of his father and elder brother. (*Life of Sir William Wallace*, p. 10.)

On the cruelty of the English officers and soldiers being one of the main motivations of Wallace and his followers, see also *The Life of the celebrated Scottish Patriot*, pp. 3-4

and independence was regained by Wallace through his "personal" struggle against Edward.[63]

6

What the stories of Bannockburn and Wallace reveal is an 'inward' looking patriotism praising Scotland's own achievement of independence and liberty. Yet, even the voice of applause for independence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is oblique rather than straightforward, because Scotland lost her sovereignty in favour of the British empire. This was a dilemma for Scottish patriotism after 1746. Whereas the Scots were proud of their nationhood, they also accepted the present status of Scotland as the equal partner to England in the ever expanding British empire. Such a dilemma might be ascribed to a lukewarm attitude to their patriotic heroes Bruce and Wallace found in these chapbooks, which is notably different from the patriotism found in Allan Ramsay's powerful satirical poem *A Tale of Three Bonnets*.

Ramsay's *A Tale of Three Bonnets*, probably written in the aftermath of an aborted Jacobite rising of 1715 but postponed in publication until 1722 because of its strong anti-English content, is a satirical poem about three brothers representing Scottish parliamentary politicians and one vain girl representing England.[64] The poem consists of dialogues among characters supported by the narrative of 'bard' (probably Ramsay himself). In the story, the father Duniwhistle (Scottish independent nation-state) bequeathed three bonnets (the ancient virtue of Scottishness) to his three sons in his death bed telling them never to part with under any circumstances. The oldest

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[63] *The History of Sir William Wallace*., p.2.

[64] Multiple copies of Ramsay's *A Tale of Three Bonnets* are also found in the Lauriston Castle Collection. They were printed in Glasgow, Stirling and Falkirk between 1798 and 1820. It is interesting to note one Glasgow edition was published in 1807: the centenary of the Union of 1707.

son Bristle (the anti-unionists in the parliament)[65] kept the promise with his father, while the second son Joukum (the ardent pro-unionists) fell in love with a beautiful English heiress Rosie and courted her, whose only condition was to give the three bonnets to her. Joukum tried to persuade his other two brothers to give up their bonnets in order to fulfil the condition. While he could succeed in so doing with his youngest brother Bawsy (the opportunists), described as slightly thoughtless, by alluring him with the promise of money, the eldest brother vehemently opposed such a preposterous deal. Despite the frantic opposition from the oldest brother and the ghost of the father, the second brother got married to her with the two bonnets. As Allan MacLaine points out, the number of the bonnets Rosie could get coincides with the actual vote ratio in favour of the Union in the Scottish parliament in 1707.[66] After a short honeymoon period, the couple discovered themselves in debt, which urged Rosie to force Joukum to back to Scotland, 'Fairyland' in the text, to raise rents and taxes. While Bristle was enraged by his brother's atrocious and senseless behaviour with no legal hope, Bawsie was placated by the promise of money which would be never realised from Joukum and Rosie. The final part of the poem is quite suggestive:

> While Bristle saves his manly look,
> Regardless baith o' Rose and Jouk,
> Maintains right quietly 'yond the kairns,
> His honour, conscience, wife, and bairns,
> Jouk and his rumblegarie wife
> Drive on a drunken gaming life,
> 'Cause, sober, they can get nae rest,
> For Nick and Duniwhistle's ghaist,
> Wha in the garrets aften tooly,
> And shore them wi' a bloody gully.[67]

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[65] A. H. MacLaine argues that Bristle was projected as a Scottish patriot type of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. See, A. H. MacLaine, *Allan Ramsay* (1985, Boston), p. 22.
[66]Ibid., p. 23.
[67] A. Ramsay, 'A Tale of Three Bonnets', in *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, vol III (A. M. Kinghorn and A. Law ed.) (Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 30-31. The Treaty was ratified by 110 votes to 67, which is roughly two to one in ratio.

Thus Ramsay's poem ends with the prediction of Scottish nation within the Union as miserable one eaten up by the English as well as constantly threatened of by the sense of guilt from selling their country to their ancient foe. *A Tale of Three Bonnets* is one of Ramsay's works which has not received due appreciation from the critics. In particular Alexander Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, the historian and once the professor of Universal History at Edinburgh University, dismissed the poem as 'absurd', probably because of Ramsay's expression of patriotism which was anti-Unionist.

The chapbook stories of Bannockburn and Wallace demonstrate that the meaning of the Scottish nation was somehow different from the twentieth-century understanding of the concept. The twentieth-century understanding of these heroes and their victories is that William Wallace became the martyr of the Scottish nation during his brave and selfless attempts to free his beloved nation from English rule and that Robert Bruce succeeded Wallace and achieved Scottish independence at Bannockburn in 1314. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, the suppressed tone found in the praise of Robert Bruce, the emphasis on William Wallace's 'popular background' as well as his desire not to become the Scottish king, and both stories using the plot of the nation fighting against tyrant, rather than that of Scottish nation's battler for freedom and independence against English nation, suggest that the meaning of the nation in those chapbooks was utilised to describe the group of people who were ruled. This explains why not Bruce but Wallace became a 'national' hero. Bruce being royal born could not become 'one of us', but Wallace's 'popular background' certainly helped him to be a hero of Scottish people. This type

of usage of the word nation is also found in the chapbooks on the seventeenth century Covenanters, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

The most unromantic heroes in the age of romanticism?

The Covenanters in Scottish chapbooks

1

The last chapter looked at how the idea of nationhood was constructed in the Scottish chapbooks through the careful reading of narratives concerned with the medieval Scottish heroes Robert Bruce and William Wallace. Unlike the common understanding in the twentieth-century of these heroes as the defenders of an independent Scottish nation-state, these patriots were given either a secondary role in the battles which arguably determined the course of the Scottish nation or, in the rhetoric used, the defence of Scottish liberty. The chapter also argued that these narratives of Wallace and Bruce were constructed with a common plot. In both cases, the stories are constructed around the plot of how the Scottish nation came to regain her liberty through the battle against tyranny. In other words, these were not the stories of a fight against the English or the English nation p*er se*. The reason for narrating the stories in this particular way was explored in the political situation Scotland was placed in during the period. England was no longer Scotland's mortal foe, but at least her ally in the framework of the British state. Although naturally, it is doubtful if the Scottish people shared Patrick Tytler's conviction that England was the sister kingdom to Scotland.

One question arises here. How did late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Scots understand the word nation? As this chapter demonstrates, the word

was used in two different ways which we defined in the introduction of this study, and how the Scottish chapbooks demonstrate its usage is rather ambiguous. The word nation has been primarily understood by historians as what the OED defines as, 'an extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language, or history, as to form a distinct race or people, usually organised as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory'.[1] National identity based on this meaning of nation, however, seems to presuppose that the 'self' and 'other' of national identity mean one nation (self) and other nations (other). As the introduction in this thesis explained, the definition of nation is not so straightforward as previously thought.[2] The malleable and situational nature of national identity also reveals that 'self' and 'other' in nationhood took different forms through narrative expressions according to its user and a particular historical situation. Consequently, this presupposition seems to misrepresent the nature of Scottish national identity found in those chapbooks.

This difference in understanding the word nation is further analysed in the first half of this chapter using chapbooks written about the late seventeenth century Covenanters. In these chapbooks, the Covenanters were described as people who made a strenuous effort to free the Scottish nation from the hands of a tyrant James VII. What became clear by reading these chapbooks is that 'self' and 'other' of Scottish nationhood is not that of one nation and other nations but that of Scottish

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[1] *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. X, p. 231.

[2] Some recent studies of English patriotism have questioned this rather simplified definition of the nation. For instance, through his study of the Militia Act of 1757 Eliga Gould argues that the Act 'demonstrated...the sheer variety of possible answers to the question "what is the country?" guaranteed that English patriotism remained susceptible to repeated revision and multiple interpretations.' (E.H. Gould, '"What is the country?": patriotism and the language of popularity during the English militia reform of 1757', in G. MacLean, D. Landry and Joseph P. Ward (eds.), *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1560-1840* (Cambridge, 1999).

people and their rulers. This differs from the Bruce and Wallace chapbooks we have examined in chapter two: there the construction of selfhood and otherness was based on the dialectics of the Scottish nation versus 'foreign' tyranny.

This language of 'nation' in those chapbooks alarmed the conservatives as well as the landed elite. The second half of the chapter analyses how the landed elite construed what was a peaceful expression of patriotism - a public march to commemorate the Covenanters - as a threat to law and order. This exemplifies the point that although the populace and the landed élite had a different understanding of the subject they at least shared the same historical language provided by those chapbooks.

2

Frequently used topics for chapbooks from the history of the Covenanters were the narratives of the battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, and the martyrdom of John Brown of Priesthill, James Renwick of Glencairn, and of Donald Cargill.[3] One point in common among these stories is that they attempted to show the process of building the Scottish nation through the struggle against tyranny. Moreover, since such nationhood was created and instructed by God and his scripture, the enemy

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[3] Laird of Torfoot, *Narrative of the Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, The former fought on the 1st, and the latter on the 22nd of June, 1679. Between the King's Troops, and the Covenanters* (Kilmarnock, 1825) and Anon., *The Life of the Martyr John Brown of Priesthill* (Stirling, 1828) The Lauriston Castle Collection includes various editions of these titles. As for the historical account of the late Covenanters, see V. G. Kiernan, 'A banner with a strange device: the later Covenanters' in T. Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, Charter, and Party: traditions of revolt and protest in modern Scottish history* (Aberdeen, 1989).

against Scotland was ungodly and blasphemous.[4] For instance, *The Battle of Drumclog* (1825) explains the reason for fighting against their own king:

> We had assembled not to fight, but to worship the God of our fathers. ...For desperate and ferocious bands made bloody raids through the country, and, pretending to put down treason, they waged war against religion and morals. They spread ruin and havoc over the face of bleeding Scotland.[5]

On the other hand, the followers of the Covenanters, who fought against the King's army were taken as God blessed, and when they fell in to the hands of the blasphemous soldiers they became the martyrs:

> As Claverhouse descended the opposite mountain, they retired to the rising ground in the rear of our host. ... They sang a cheering psalm. The music was that of the well-known tune of "The Martyrs" and the sentiment breathed defiance - The music floated down on the wind, - our men gave them three cheers as they fell into their ranks.[6]

In particular, these chapbooks displayed their disgust with James II, and his military commanders especially John, Lord Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. In *the life of John Brown*, Claverhouse was given the role of a bloodthirsty and cold-minded persecutor who shamelessly executed the Christian carrier, John Brown. The writer firstly described how the prelacy was reintroduced against the will of Scottish people by the king and his nobility:

> It is something remarkable, that every time that Prelacy was established in Scotland, it was accompanied with persecution of the Church, taking away the rights of the people, and degeneracy in the moral character of the nation.[7]

While the point echoes the voice of the laird of Torfoot, the author of the *Battle of Drumclog*, this is interesting in two aspects. Firstly, the author saw Scotland as socially divided: people on the one side of the spectrum and the King, his nobility

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[4] As Richard Finlay argues, the religious aspect of eighteenth century Scottish patriotism is one area which is under studied. See R. Finlay, 'Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity' in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (eds.), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: new Perspectives* (East Linton, 1999)
[5] *Battle of Drumclog*, p. 2.
[6] Ibid., p.3
[7] *Life of John Brown*, p. 3.

and bishops on the other. Secondly, the author seems to think that the moral rights of the nation (people) were eroded by their social superiors. Thus, the history of religious persecution was described, not only as conflict between two religions, but as the story of an institution embodying the Scottish nation which was the defender of the nation's liberty, destroyed by the enemy who happened to be her ruler.[8]

In the process of constructing selfhood and otherness in the Covenanter chapbooks, this Presbyterian and morally righteous Scotland was located in the Lowlands. Here, the Scottish Borders, traditionally regarded as lawless, was incorporated into the Scottish nation in a moral sense:

> The Scottish border, proverbial for freebooters or robbers, felt the divine effects of the banished ministers. They were there harboured without fear or dread of laws, and kindly entertained. The inhabitants of the heath-covered moors, and the distant isles of the sea were made glad, and blossomed as the rose. Thus, the scattering of the ministers made new inroads upon Satan's kingdom. The Gospel flourished, though driven from temples made with hands. Many date their conversion from the glad tidings they heard in these wilds, saying with the Psalmist, Lo! We heard of thee at Ephratah, we found thee in the field of the wood.[9]

However, the author's view on the Highlanders drastically differs from that on the Borders. The Highlanders were described as someone the Scots (the Lowlanders) were fearful of because of them 'ravaging the country'.[10] Such a barbaric image was further enhanced by a deliberate attempt to equate them with Claverhouse, arguing that Claverhouse was once in charge of commanding the Highlanders:

> He [Claverhouse] was descended from the House of Montrose, and was educated in France, the best school of dissolute manners and cruelty. He fought against the French in the Low Countries, under the Prince of Orange, but being refused to the command of one of the Scottish regiments, then in the Dutch service, he left it in disgust, and came over to England. His dissolute manners and vivacity soon got him notice at court, and the command of a party

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[8] The meaning of the battle against their king was explained in terms of the self-defence to sustain their liberty:
Thus, my children, the defence of our lives, and the regaining of our liberty and religion, has subjected us to severe trials. And how great must be the love of liberty, when it carries men forward, under the impulse of self-defence, to witness the most disgusting spectacles, and to encounter the most cruel hardships of war! (*Battle of Drumclog*, p. 14.)

[9] *Life of John Brown*, p. 5.

[10] As for the construction of the Highlands Scotland's 'other', see chapter four for a further discussion.

of Highlanders.[11]

Their fear of the Highlanders was enhanced in the last part of the narrative. After the execution of John Brown, his fellow man Joseph Wilson, 'under hiding in the moss' was to be found by the Highlanders, and shot without any further trials along with his comrades:

> Joseph Wilson who was also under hiding in the moss hag with John Brown, was met by a party of north Highlanders in a moss, near the water of Kyle, when he and other four men were recruting from hearing Mr. Renwick preach; and on their confession where they had been, were all shot without further trial. Thus their blood was mixed with their sacrifice. They were not granted even time to commit their souls to God: but their souls' safety did not depend upon their prayers, but on their praying HEAD.[12]

The narratives of the battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge gave a similar picture. Its main plot was the sufferings of religious and civil liberty of the Scottish nation embodied by the Presbyterian Church.[13] The narrative explains why the Covenanters labelled James II as a tyrant:

> 'I have lived...to see a Prince twice, of his own choice, take the oath of the covenants to support religion, and the fundamental laws of the land. I have lived to see that Prince turn traitor to his country, and, with unblushing impiety, order these covenants to be burned by the hands of the executioner. I have seen him subvert the liberty of my country, both civil and religious.- I have seen him erect a bloody inquisition.[14]

This misery of the nation was, however, salvaged by the Revolution in 1688 which ousted James II from the Crown. The joy of liberation was vividly described in the narrative of *the Battle of Bothwell Bridge*:

> 'Scotland for ever! She is free. The tyrant James has abdicated. The Stuarts are banished by an indignant nation. Orange triumphs. Our wounds are binding up.- Huzza! Scotland, and King William, and the Covenant for ever!'[15]

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[11] Ibid., p. 15.
[12] Ibid., p. 23. The way of describing the Highlanders as 'Otherness' to the Lowland-centric Scotland is further discussed in chapter four.
[13] The inscription on the obelisk built at Drumclog in 1839 also shares this view. See, T. Campbell, *Standing Witness A guide to the Scottish Covenanters and their Memorials with a Historical Introduction* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 77-78.
[14] *The Battle of Bothwell Bridge*, pp. 15-16.

This reveals the nature of the Scottish nationhood constructed in these Covenanter chapbooks. Unlike the stories of Bruce and Wallace, the Covenanters' mortal enemy-tyrant was not a foreigner such as the English king, but their own king descended from the Scottish dynasty. The narrative seems to argue that James II was a tyrant because his policy did not reflect the collective will of the Scottish people: the word nation was connoted with the concept of popular sovereignty. The crown was not regarded as the fountain of Scottish nationhood but its symbol. The jubilant cry 'Huzza! Scotland, and King William, and the Covenant for ever!' shows that the monarchy was the symbol of the collective will of the Scottish nation.[16] For the Covenanters, a 'foreign' king like William III could be the symbol of the Scottish nation, so long as he respected the collective will of the Scottish people. If this was the case, why were the Covenanting chapbooks written in this particular manner? And, why did these stories appear to be a popular subject in the chapbook reading public of this period? This question leads us to examine how the history of the Covenanters was used in the first half of the eighteenth-century, before analysing the link between these Covenanter chapbooks to the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth

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[15] Ibid., p. 16.

[16] Edward Cowan finds that the Declaration of Arbroath as the declaration of liberating the Scottish nation, 'the community of the realm of Scotland', from the hands of tyranny. In this process, Robert Bruce was described to be 'chosen to free his people' by God. See, E. Cowan, 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration of Arbroath', in D. Broun, R. J. Finlay and M. Lynch (eds.), *Image and Identity The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), especially pp. 47-51. Roger A. Mason, in turn, suggests that the dialectics of tyranny and the 'commonweal' as well as the right to resist against Kingship became much of the focus of political debate, in which George Buchanan and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount played a key role during the Reformation period. R. A. Mason, 'Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth-Century Scotland' in idem., *Kingship and the Commonweal Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), p. 33, and idem., 'Covenant and commonweal: the language of politics in Reformation Scotland' in N. Macdougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society, 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983). As for a more general account of the early modern Scottish identity, see M. Lynch, 'A Nation Born Again? Scottish Identity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Broun, Finlay and Lynch (eds.), *Image and Identity*. Such tradition seems to be the staple of cultural life of the ordinary people during the mid-eighteenth

centuries to the Scottish radical movement.

3

The stories of the Covenanters seem to have maintained a constant popularity as a chapbook theme. even before the 1780s. A chapbook, for instance, titled *A Mournful Song, Upon the breach of National, and Solemn League, and Covenant* was published in 1724, while another one *The Fight at Bothwell Bridge, composed into Metre* was dated from 1766.[17] The content of *A Mournful Song* is similar to the chapbooks examined above. Its main plot is the suffering of Scotland embodied by the presbyterian church:

> Yet I hope in GOD through the length of some time,
> In spite of the *Devil*, and all wicked Men,
> That we'll suspend in Difference and faithfully consent,
> And raise up the Bonds of our Broken *Covenant*.
>
> This hurt they've done poor *Scotland*, I do expect their Flesh
> Like the deceitful *Israelites* shall dung the Wilderness,
> Except free Grace prevent it, and in time they Repent,
> And the *Clergy* take a second thought to raise their *Covenant*.
>
> Ye Publick Men of Trading, O trust them not a Plack,
> Tho' that they Promise faithfully on you they'll turn their back
> But I must hold my peace and speak of nothing such,
> I case that I be taken for a Renter of the Church.[18]

A significant point in this chapbook is that the author ascribes the misery of the Scottish nation, or 'People' as the author terms, to the Union of 1707:

> We're Married now to England, but Divorced from our God,
> As longs the *Broken Covenant* lays on us like a Lord,
> A Flourishing Church Scotland shall never enjoy,

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century as Smout argues, but there is no evidence to support this point for the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 284.

[17] Anon., *A Mournfull Song, upon the breach of National, and Solemn League, and Covenant: with some of the CAUSES, and Direfull Effects thereof* (n. p., 1724), and Anon., *The Fight at Bothwell Bridge Composed, into Metre* (Edinburgh, 1766).

[18] *A Mournful Song*, p. 4 (stanzas 18-20).

Until the Sons of Lve [sic] their Knavery shall destroy.[19]

Why did the author have to accuse 'Publick Men of Trading' as well as England of destructing Scottish nationhood? This is partly explained by the year this chapbook was printed. In 1724, the south-western part of Scotland, mainly Dumfriesshire and Galloway where the hard-line presbyterian tradition was much alive represented by the Cameronians, faced the Levellers Revolt.[20] Although the riot itself was short-lived, and did not extend to the whole of Scotland, its aftermath has some significance to the main plot of this chapbook. According to T. C. Smout, while the magistrates read the Riot Act in order to diffuse the situation in the town of Kirkcudbright, the Levellers (whose organisation was similar to a covenant) retaliated by their reading of the text from the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643.[21] Regardless of whether this rising was, as Smout terms, 'class war' or the declaration of 'an agrarian democracy' in William Ferguson's phrasing, it is significant that popular economic discontent (and protest) was expressed in the language of nation which was, in turn, couched in the dichotomy of the nation as people versus the socially superior.[22]

Another noteworthy point in this incident is that the socio-economic dissatisfaction of the lower strata was also combined with religious issues. The Church of Scotland had faced the danger of schism and inner conflict since the Union of 1707, despite the Act for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian

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[19] Ibid., p. 5.
[20] K. Logue, *Popular Disturbance in Scotland 1780-1815*, (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 6.
[21] Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, pp. 305-6. As for the food rising of 1720 and the effect of the Union in economic terms, see C. A. Whatley, 'The Union of 1707, Integration and the Scottish Burghs: the Case of the 1720 Food Riots', *SHR*, 78 (1999).
[22] Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 304, and W. Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1990 ed), p. 167.

church government which would guarantee its independence. Their discontent was mainly because of the two British acts, the Toleration Act and the Patronage Act legislated in 1712. In particular, the latter act restoring the lay patronage of nominating parish ministers was deeply unpopular throughout Scotland, as in people's eyes the act was the act of usurpation upon religious right committed by 'prelates'.[23] Even before these two pieces of legislation, a pamphlet encapsulated this anger against what they saw as 'infamous Means of Antichrist's ascension' was published:

> But what We here intend, is to remind
> You of the Duty, unto which We bind,
> These Kingdoms, namely that you should suppress,
> Whatever is contrite to Godliness,
> To found Religion in its purity,
> And pow'r, such at that cursed Hierarchy,
> Satanical no doubt in its invetion,
> Th' infamous Means of Antichrist' ascension,
> Erect' by Law, confirmed by Decrees,
> And Oaths impos'd on Men of all degrees.[24]

In retrospect, the issue of lay patronage became one of the central issues behind the Scottish church's schism, which would culminate in the so-called 'Ten Years' Conflict' in the 1830s and the Disruption in 1843. While the landed elite and professionals tended to support the Moderates, the populace in the Lowlands tended to back the Seceders who originally took their recruitment largely from the conventicles in rural areas dating from the days of the Covenanters.[25] Under these circumstances, the anger against lay patronage was strongly evinced in a song *The*

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[23] S. J. Brown, 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843', in S. J. Brown and M. Fry (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 6, and C. G. Brown, 'Religion and Social Change' in T. Devine and R. Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. I, 1760-1830 (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 147, and idem., 'Protest in the Pews: Interpreting Presbyterianism and Society in Fracture During the Scottish Economic Revolution' in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society, 1700-1850* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 97-9.

[24] Anon., *To the Ministers and Elders met at Edinburgh, April, 26, 1710. The just complaint and Remonstrance of the National covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland* (n. p., n. d.), p. 6.

Fight at Bothwell Bridge:

> Because we'll not menswear ourselves
> For every bishop lowm,
> But we will not acknowledge them
> Nor own them as our head,
>
> Nor will imbrace on mortal man;
> into our masters stead,
> We will prove loyal to the King;
> Through it and through to.
>
> If they will place our ministers
> And bring the Bishops down
> The Bishops they are high in power,
> And sets themselves as lords;[26]

The monarchy was not really blamed for its tyrannical rules, as was the case of the later chapbooks examined above. For the author of the song, it was not the monarch but the bishops 'they are but bastards', in his own words, who should take their blame.

The song also differs from the Covenanter chapbooks printed later in the account of the tyrannical fool who committed an atrocity against the godly Covenanters:

> When the enemy had won the bridge
> The Westlandmen did flee
> The Englishmen and Clavers both
> Did kill them grievouslie.
>
> And all along through Hamilton town
> They did kill and did wound
> Until the streets with bodies dead
> Was cover'd in the town.
>
> Some were dead and some were sick
> and some were sorely wounded
> they drove them east like unto sheep
> before the dogs were hunted[27]

Apart from Claverhouse, (the usual suspect of atrocity in the presbyterian history of religious persecution), it was the English who were confronted with the accusation of

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[25] Brown, 'Religion and Social Change', pp. 147-51.
[26] *Fight at Bothwell Bridge*, p. 10.

committing a 'crime' against presbyterian ancestors in this chapbook. This feeling of anglophobia is understandable, if we consider the timing of its publication. During the 1760s, there existed Scottophobia as represented by John Wilkes in England, who attacked Scotland through his own newspaper *North Britain*.[28] In Wilkes' eyes, Scotland was intrinsically different in terms of language and more significantly-political ideas and systems. He observed that 'The principal part of the Scottish nobility are tyrants and the whole of the common people are slaves'.[29] This is exemplified by the current British politics which appeared to be dominated by the Scots, starting with the prime minister, the Earl of Bute irritating Wilkes, an outright Whig, with his sly comment that the Scots 'Into our places, states, and beds they creep'.[30] Such snigger and contempt infuriated the Scots. Wilkes was challenged to duel in Paris by a Scotsman John Forbes in 1763, and the effigy of Wilkes was burnt publicly in the second half of the eighteenth century, which was shared in a song *The English mock, or Wilkes rant*:

> Wilkes, Lampets, and mussels,
> We count them but shells,
> The Englishmen's cuckolds,
> And they're nothing else.
> With fat beaf and pudding,
> They staff up their gots,
> And left their Wilkes shells,
> To dispute with the Scots.
>
> You statesmen of England,
> As I do suppose,
> The name of our clan,
> Both stink in your nose,
> But if you dispute us,
> Believe me it's true,
> You'll find in the field,

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[27] Ibid., p. 8.
[28] Colley, *Britons*, p. 121.
[29] Quoted in ibid., p. 121.
[30] J. S. Shaw, *The political history of eighteenth-century Scotland* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 77-8, Colley, *Britons*, pp. 115-16, and quoted in p. 126.

We are as good as you.[31]

In this context, what *The Fight at Bothwell Bridge* intended was to criticise Wilkes and his followers for their petty anglo-centric attitude as well as to their denial of the authenticity of Scottish liberty - it was achieved by offering a counter argument that Scotland sustained such ancient liberty through their fierce battle against her tyrannical rulers.

The history of religious persecution during the late seventeenth-century came to be utilised as evidence for the authenticity of Scottish liberty, which took a different course from the so-called Scottish whig historiography represented by historians such as Lord Kames, or a leading Moderate, William Robertson, whose writing was now becoming the dominant discourse of Scottish historiography in the course of the eighteenth-century.[32] The next section examines how the nature of Scottish nationhood as constructed in the Covenanting chapbooks following the issue of lay patronage and the Wilkites' onslaught on the concept of ancient Scottish liberty, was related to Scottish radicalism between 1790 and 1820.

4

As we have seen above, one of the main features in the Covenanting chapbooks of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries is the way in which the concept of Scottish nationhood was firmly couched in the dialectics of the nation and tyranny. Such nationhood, in turn, was expressed as the embodiment of liberty. Why, then,

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[31] Anon., *The English mock, or Wilkes rant, being an answer to Scots Sandy the Barber* (n. p., n. d.). The opposite note is found in Anon., *A New Song Between Wilks and Forbes* (n. p., n. d.). Murdoch, *British History*, p. 99.

did Scottish nationhood have to be configured in these chapbooks in such a particular manner? The key to this question appears to be found in the context of Scottish radicalism at this time. The French Revolution of 1789 certainly influenced and spurred the activities of the Scottish radicals and their sympathisers.[33] Trees of Liberty were planted across Scotland, and there was a public meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the fall of Bastille in 1791.[34] However, unlike their French counterparts, the Scottish radicals did not aim at toppling the British establishment in order to build the Scottish republic.[35] This point is partly exemplified by the nature of the King's birthday celebrations which were often followed by drunkenness and disorder. As Christopher Whatley explains, the crowd desired to publicly demonstrate their loyalty to the monarch in order to legitimise their act of protest against the wrongdoing of the state.[36] In their own eyes, the radical movement was not to cause the 'revolution' but to 'reform' the British state which was regarded as helplessly corrupt, as found on the public notice board:

> The return of the King's Birthday brings in mind the Stigma shewn an enemy of our Country, John Wilkes - But that *Lash* of his Country, D -- s, under the Cloak of Patriotism secretly *at last* seeks her ruin. Think of his opposition to the abolishing of the Test Act by which our Church is drained, the reform from the illegal and selfish views of our present Magistracy who act contrary to the *bulk* of people in every matter - *These*, and other circumstances of his

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[32] C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp. 193-98.

[33] W. H. Fraser, *Scottish popular politics: from radicalism to Labour* (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 8.

[34] J. Brims, 'Scottish democratic movement in the age of the French Revolution' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1983), p. 70, Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland*, pp. 148-53 and idem., 'Eighteenth-Century Popular Protest: Aspects of the People's Past', in E. J. Cowan, *The People's Past* (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 110.

[35] As for the reception of the French Revolution in Britain, see, for instance, M. Philp, 'Introduction', in idem. (ed.), *The French Revolution and British popular politics* (Cambridge, 1991), M. Fitzpatrick, 'Patriots and Patriotisms: Richard Price and- the early reception of the French Revolution in England' in O' Dea and Whelan , *Nations and Nationalisms*, H. T. Dickinson, *British Radicalism and the French Revolution 1789-1815* (Oxford, 1985), esp. pp. 1-24, and J. Dinwiddy,'Conceptions of Revolution in the English Radicalism of the 1790s', in idem., *Radicalism and reform in Britain, 1780-1850* (London, 1992).

[36] C. A. Whatley, *Scottish society, 1707-1830 : beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 284-85, and idem., 'Royal Day, People's Day: The Monarch's Birthday in Scotland, c. 1660-1860', in N. McDougall and R. A. Mason, *People and power in Scotland : essays in honour of T. C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1993) and Logue *Popular Disturbances in Scotland*, pp. 133-47.

conduct make him merit the *Lantern* more than any of the French *Aristocrats*.[37]

Their adoption of reformist strategy had another intention. In particular, they sought a wide range of support from Scottish society in the early stage of the movement. These two aspects of Scottish radicalism - the reformist tendency and seeking of a wide support from society - contributed to the particular formation of the language which would legitimise their course of action in the name of the nation.[38] This usage of the language of the nation was fully articulated in a handbill titled 'The origin of Government':

> In every free country, the artist [i.e. the artisan], mechanic, and labouring man, has a right to bargain for his labour; and how is it that in Britain, which is called the land of freedom, they are by laws deprived of that national right? Why are they not as free to make their own bargain as the law-makers are to let their farms and houses at what they deem their value?[39]

John Belchem explains this type of language of nation was a means of seeking legitimacy.[40] Thus, under the aegis of the nation which would guarantee the legitimacy of their argument, the radicals made a determined attempt to project themselves as the defenders of the nation embodied by liberty. This formulation of the radical language of the nation, meanwhile, enabled the radicals to label their opponents as well as the Parliament as the enemy of the nation, namely tyranny.[41] Such formulation of what Hugh Cunningham calls radical patriotism was further accelerated especially after the trials of Thomas Muir and T. F. Palmer, who later became 'martyrs' in the chronicle of the British radicals, as well as the onslaughts of conservative propaganda labelling the radicals 'those conceited monkies' or

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[37] Quoted in H. W. Meikle, 'The Kings Birthday Riot in Edinburgh, June, 1792', *SHR*, 7 (1910), p. 23.
[38] For the case study of the adaptation of the language of nation in radical context, for instance, see, J. Dinwiddy, '"The Patriot Linen Draper": Robert Waithman and the Revival of Radicalism', in idem., *Radicalism and reform in Britain.*
[39] Anon., 'The origin of Government' (Edinburgh, 1792), quoted in Brims, 'Scottish Democratic Movement', p. 24.
[40] J. Belchem, *Popular radicalism in nineteenth-century Britain* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 9.
[41] Fraser, *Scottish Popular Politics*, p. 16.

'infidelity, licentiousness, levelling and Jacobinism' would threaten the right of the propertied classes.[42] As we will see in the next chapter, such formulation of the language of nation also led some radicals to participate in loyalism (which is normally posited as the opposite to radicalism at first glance) in the height of the Napoleonic war.

Another feature of radicalism in Scotland is that it did not necessarily resort to seeking support by adopting the language of class. Although the Friends of the People, for instance, attracted some of the lower echelons of society such as weavers, shoemakers and small shop keepers, the majority of the lower orders did not become radicalised. As Emma Vincent Macleod argues, radicalism placed its focus on attacking the British state for its 'old corruption' rather than on uniting the interests of the lower orders.[43] In most cases, for the radicals and their supporters, one of the main causes for the divisions in society which would bare uncivil inequality was not the means of production, but the 'corrupt' political system symbolised by the Parliament and the governing of everyday life in the society which was in the hands of the few landed elite.[44] Accordingly, their perception was that it was the division between the propertied and the people or the nation, which was parallel to the division of those who participated in the political process and those excluded from such process. It is equally important that the lower strata of society shared such a perception of the affairs of the state spontaneously.[45] Without much help from the indoctrination of radical ideology, the lower echelons of society could respond to the

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[42] H. Cunningham, 'the Language of patriotism' in R. Samuel (ed.) *Patriotism: The making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, vol. I (London, 1987).
[43] E. V. Macleod, 'A city invincible? Edinburgh and the war against Revolutionary France', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23 (2000), p. 163.
[44] Brims, 'Scottish democratic movement', p. 25.

radicals' call for reform by relating their everyday experience of the tyranny of 'corruption' as in the memory of Wallace and Bruce to radical principles.

In Scotland, their discontent over political inequality was further flared by the ongoing religious division. As we have seen in the last section, the religious division within the presbyterian church was not a novel affair for Scottish society. However, the issue came to take another turn by the end of the eighteenth century. Along with the discontent caused by lay patronage being already a central issue to the religious life of eighteenth-century Scotland, there rose an issue of pew-rents, which was to ultimately exclude the unpropertied even from the domain of formal religion.[46] The pew-rent itself was nothing new, as its origin dated back to the mid-century when the rent was designed to grant opportunities to all the echelons of Scottish society by allocating seats according to their income and social status. However, the increase of the urban population caused the churches to hike up rent increases and to abolish the free seats. Thus, urban expansion and development of the capitalist economy, in turn, started to partly cause the exclusion of the lower income groups from the realm of religion as well as of politics.[47] Under these circumstances, some Seceder ministers such as the Rev Archibald Bruce and the Rev Patrick Bannerman observed that it was tyrannical parties in Britain who oppressed the right of the Scottish nation for civil and religious freedom through rotten and unreformed parliament and lay patronage, and that the means of reforming Scotland was now in the hands of the 'inferior sort of people' because of the propertied rank's loss of touch with the affairs of the nation:

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[45] Ibid., p. 90.
[46] Brown, 'Religion and Social Change', p. 153, and Brims, 'The Covenanting tradition', p. 55.
[47] Brown, 'Protests in the Pews', pp. 91-92.

> A despotic aristocracy has continued since that period to controul [sic] and overawe you, and with that boast of liberty, which hath been so loud and clamourous, the middle and lower ranks of this country have hardly been able to taste the sweets of freedom. The members of aristocracy have monopolised the blessings of government, and carefully retained in their pay a chosen band of their inferiors, who have celebrated the praises of a government, the benefits of which were confined to themselves and their employers.[48]

In their eyes, the story of the Covenanters became an effective icon to mobilise radical patriotism which was based upon the dichotomy of the nation and tyranny, as the Covenanters were the martyrs of ancient Scottish liberty.[49]

In retrospect, this distinctive feature of Scottish nationhood constructed in the Covenanter chapbooks probably contributed to their decline as historical icons in Scottish nationhood. While there was some antipathy against England, especially because of the landed elite's tendency to follow the English suite and of the Anglican ecclesiastical structure which was perceived as a tool of tyranny, what most of Scottish radicals desired was to reform Scotland through reforming the British state rather than to demand an independent Scottish republic.[50] Certainly, there is some historical evidence which suggests the republican and nationalist tendency of Scottish radicals. For instance, Lord Daer, a leading radical of the Whig persuasion, wrote to the future Earl of Grey observing the current situation of Scottish radicalism and their attitude to the Union:

> We have suffered the misery which is perhaps inevitable to a lesser and remote country in a junction here the Governing powers are united but the Nations are not united. In short, thinking we have been the worse of every connection hitherto with you, the Friends of Liberty in Scotland have almost universally been enemies to Union with England. Such is the fact, whether the reasons be good or bad.[51]

Such conclusion is based on his perception of the Anglo-Scottish relations since

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[48] Quoted in Brims, 'Scottish democratic movement', pp. 43-4.
[49] Brims, 'The Covenanting tradition', p. 57.
[50] Brims, 'From Reformers to "Jacobins": The Scottish Associations of the Friends of the People', in Devine, *Conflict and Stability*, pp. 41-42.
[51] E. Hughes (ed.), 'The Scottish reform movement and Charles Grey 1792-94: Some fresh evidence', *SHR*, 35 (1956), p. 35.

1707, especially in relation to the concept of liberty:

> We have existed a conquered province these two centuries. We trace our bondage from the Union of the Crowns and find it little alleviated by the Union of Kingdoms... You say we have gained emancipation from feudal tyranny. I believe most deliberately that had no Union ever taken place we should in that respect have been more emancipated than we are. Left of ourselves we should probably have had a progression towards Liberty and not less than yours. Our grievance prior to the accession of the Stewarts to your throne were a kind which even had that event not taken place, must before this time have been annihilated.[52]

Lord Daer's concern here appears to be two-fold. Firstly, he was probably deeply disturbed by the denial of ancient Scottish liberty based on Whig historiography which was prevalent among the English Whigs as well as the Scots, as we have seen previously. Secondly, he observes that there existed the sense of inequality, which took its origin from the Union, though it is another question if Lord Daer himself was subscribed to such view.[53] Indeed, this is certainly how Bruce and Bannerman saw the history of Scotland since 1707. However, it is doubtful if such a feeling of resentment against England led the radicals to the demand for a Scottish republic. This point could be exemplified by the response of the delegates to the Society of United Scotsmen in the address of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen. The address made an attempt to remind their Scottish comrades of the radical-national past by arguing that:

> you do not consider yourselves as merged and melted down into another Country but that in this great national question you are still Scotland- the land where Buchanan wrote, and Fletcher spoke, and Wallace fought.[54]

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[52] Ibid., p. 34.

[53] Elsewhere in the same letter, Daer writes:
It may even have a national bad effect, if this should go so far, or anything else should take such a turn as to make the Tweed appear a boundary in political sentiment or action, it requires more confidence in the good sense of our countrymen than even I can reasonably have not to believe in that it is possible (though I do not think probable) that a fatal national jealousy may arise. Scotland has long groaned under the chains of England and know that its connection there has been the cause of its greatest misfortunes. (Ibid., p. 34.) See also, Kidd, Subverting Scotland's Past, p. 248.

[54] Address from the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the Delegates for Reform in Scotland, 23 November 1792, quoted in J. D. Brims, 'The Scottish "Jacobins", Scottish Nationalism and the British Union', in R. A. Mason, *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 250-51. On Scottish radicals and their relation to Irish counter parts, see, E. M. McFarland, 'Scottish Radicalism in the Later Eighteenth Century: "The Social Thistle and Shamrock"', in T. Devine and J. R. Young

This appeal to a republican tradition in Scotland did not really gather support even among the Scottish delegates. According to Brims, although the address was permitted to be read, the national convention of the Scottish Friends of the People decided to oppose the address, and throughout the national conventions, this type of resolution was never to be read or passed.[55]

Rather than choosing to explore the 'Scottish' solution, the Scottish radicals chose to seek to reform the British state according to the British constitution.[56] Accordingly, the concept of Scottish liberty was no exception to this trend whereby the Scottish radicals adopted Reform within the British framework.[57] The idea of liberty was conceptualised in British terms, and by so doing previously the English historical symbols of the concept of liberty such as the Glorious Revolution and Magna Carta came to be redefined as British among Scottish radicals. For instance, a song 'The happy revolution' encapsulates this sense of Britishness within constitutionalism:

> Great WILLIAM'S NAME let BRITAIN boast,
> His Merit still remember;
> And Freedom's sons still often toasst
> The FOURTH DAY of NOVEMBER
> May Faction and her direful Train
> For ever be rejected,
> O'er loyal Hearts let Freedom reign,
> By unity protected
>
> Chorus
> O BRITONS would you still be free,
> TAINT not your CONSTITUTION,
> Act nobly, let Usurpers see,
> You fear no REVOLUTION.[58]

(eds.), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: new perspectives* (East Linton, 1999), and idem., *Ireland and Scotland in the Age of Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1994).

[55] Brims, 'Scottish democratic movement', p. 317, and idem., 'The Scottish "Jacobins"', p. 251.

[56] Fraser, *Scottish Popular Politics*, p. 13.

[57] J. Brims, 'From Reformers to "Jacobins"', pp. 41-42.

[58] Anon., *The Happy revolution by King William, 1688. To which are added, now or never, Britain's monitor, advice to the fair sex, let's be jovial fill your glasses, Sylvia's charms* (n. p., n. d.), p. 3.

This explains why the chapbook *The Battle of Bothwell Bridge* ended with the author's jubilant cry for William III along with the Covenanters. Thus, the chapbook history of the Covenanters was re-defined as the story of combining two chronicles of ancient liberty, Scottish and English, into a British concept by employing the narrative device of a 'foreign' William III. Such re-definition of the Covenanter story explains why it differed from the same story from the Wilkite era which was designed to assert the distinctiveness and authenticity of Scottish liberty.[59] The inter-changeability of English and Scottish symbols of liberal nationhood within British framework, meanwhile, encouraged the English radicals to adapt Scottish icons such Wallace and Bruce under the pretext of British 'national' champions of liberty.

In retrospect, it was Robert Burns' song 'Bruce's address to his army at Bannockburn' or commonly 'Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled' which accelerated the English radical adoption of Wallace and Bruce as the defender of liberty. Burns' own ideas on politics and nationalism are extremely complicated issues. However, regardless of Burns' own views on such issues, his version of the narrative of Wallace and Bruce became firmly embedded in the English radical imagination. An anthology of radical songs, *The Radical Reformers' new Song book* exemplifies this point with their selection including 'Scots Wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled'.[60] Furthermore, a song 'The Manchester Massacre' uses the tune of 'Scots Wha ha'e', indicating Burns's song and the Peterloo massacre were firmly connected to the chronicle of British liberty, while another song 'The reformer's song of Liberty'

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[59] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp. 248-51.
[60] Anon., *Radical Reformers' new Song book, being a choice collection of patriotic songs* (New Castle, n.d.) The title is accompanied with a text 'Each true-born Briton's song shall be, O Give me

place its emphasis upon the unified nature of British liberty:

> Some of Erin, long oppress'd,
> Sons of Scotland, sore distress'd,
> While Unity's abounding.
> See! The flag of Justice flow;
> See! The blood in torrents flow;
> Hark! The shrieks of death and woe,
> St Peter's field resounding.[61]

In hindsight, the radicals' emphasis upon the dual nationhood of Scotland and Britain caused a decline, if a temporary one, in the use of the Covenanters as a historical symbol in narrativising Scottishness. The liberty represented and zealously defended by Wallace and Bruce did not carry any particular baggage of either political or religious ideology. The meaning of Wallace and Bruce was malleable and was able to be adapted according to situation and their user. For instance, a song 'Wallace's Lament' allegedly printed in 1820, does not seem to be engaged with the particularity of the British construction of Scottishness, as it projects neither England nor the Anglican church as the enemy of Scottish nation:

> Thou dark-winding Carron once pleasing to see
> To me thou canst never give up pleasure again;
> My brave Caledonians lie low on the Ice
> And thy streams are deep-ting'd with the blood of the slain.
>
> Ah! Base-hearted treach'ry has doom'd our un-doing,
> My poor bleeding country what more I can do!
> E'en valour looks plae o'er the red field of ruin,
> And freedom beholds her best warrior laid low,
> Farewell, ye dear partners of peril, farewell;
> Though buried ye lie in one wide
> Your deeds shall ennoble the place where you fell,
> And your names be enrol'd with the sons of the brave![62]

Here, Wallace is envisioned as the martyr of the cause for liberty, which could be

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Death or Liberty'. It was probably published after 1820 considering its selection of songs taking a theme from Peterloo massacre.

[61] Anon., 'The Manchester massacre, or Adieu to Slavery, tune Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled', in ibid., p. 17, and Anon., 'The reformers' song of Liberty', in ibid., p. 5, and Fraser, *Scottish Popular Politics*, p. 37.

both British and Scottish. This explains why Wallace and Bruce (to a less extent) could be employed by both Lancashire weaver of the nineteenth-century and a Hollywood producer of the twentieth century. On the other hand, the Covenanters were, if ironically in one sense, too 'Scottish' to be adapted within a British context. As we have seen in the last chapter, a story is always regulated by the conventions and the cultural milieu of the readership, so once a story goes beyond this set of regulations, which itself is fluid and situational, the reader does not comprehend it.[63] What mainly consisted of the content of liberty in the Covenanter story were the presbyterian church and its religious ideology, which was historically constructed in the annals of Scottish nationhood. And it was this religious element which did not have a common share with the idea of liberal Britishness constructed by the radicals of both sides of the Border: the rugged men of the moor were not both Scottish and British but distinctively Scottish.[64] Furthermore, as John Brims points out, however increasing in their numbers, the Seceders, who were most likely subscribed to the Covenanter history, was a minority in political terms, while many ministers conveyed essentially the conservative messages denying the concept of liberty in their sermons, as Emma Vincent MacLeod points out[65] As the later chapters will point out, the Covenanters were going to be regarded as the symbol of religious bigotry or worse religious superstition in the nineteenth-century Scottish historiography. Or they did not find a room to live in the bourgeois controlled public

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[62] Anon., *The Highland Piper's Advice to drinkers to which are added, Home sweet sweet home, Wallace's Lament, Connel and Flora, Here is the glen, Oh hey Johny lad, and Charlie is my DARLING.* (Airdrie, 1820), p. 4.
[63] See chapter two.
[64] Brims, 'The Covenanting tradition', p. 58.
[65] Ibid., p. 51, and E. V. Macleod, 'The Response of Scottish Churchmen to the French Revolution, 1789-1802', *SHR*, 73 (1994), p. 198.

sphere, as David Maclagan the chairman of the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Association of Promoting Fine Arts in Scotland points out:

> The religion of a country always is that which gives the highest inspiration to art. Unless you can conjoin art and religion, you will always get secular, and therefore lower its place in the heart. Our great artist, George Harvey, has done something to redeem the rigidity of the Presbyterian religion, and bring it back to art. But he is but one; and has not the nation, as a nation, divorced art from religion? I say that is a misfortune, a great misfortune, which should not have allowed. *Non omnia possumus omnes.* The Covenanters did a good work, but one of its results has been that such an Association as this has been required.[66]

The received wisdom on the historiography of Scottish radicalism and popular protest in this period seems to be in agreement that the direct influence of radicalism through the activities of the Friends of the People and the United Scotsmen on Scottish society during the 1790s did not really encourage the lower echelons of society to form a coherent political force such as class consciousness.[67] According to T. C. Smout, this is largely ascribed to the uninflammable nature of the Scottish people.[68] However, Christopher Whatley argues against Smout by pointing out that it was not uninflammable nature of the Scots that kept them quiet but that most protests were motivated by their demand to sustain the *status quo*.[69] The failure of radicalism to organise a coherent political force by recruiting the lower strata of society is also explained in the socio-economic context Scotland was located in.[70] In the first place, the radical societies such the Friends of the People for instance seem to have attracted few of the lower echelons of society across Scotland. They did not really make a good use of popular discontent for their political end, which was often localised with particular concerns, in order to form a politically united political

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[66] RAPFAS, *The Report by the Committee of Management* (1853-54), appendix, p. 51.
[67] Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, pp. 415-17.
[68] Ibid., p. 417.
[69] Whatley, *Scottish society*, pp. 290-91, and idem., 'How tame were the Scottish Lowlanders during the Eighteenth Century?', in Devine, *Conflict and Stability.*
[70] Devine, 'The Failure of Radical Reform in Scotland the Late Eighteenth Century: the Social and Economic Context', in Devine, *Conflict and Stability.*

force.[71] More recently, the studies of Edinburgh during the age of the Revolution, by Emma McLeod, seek the answer in the failure of radicalism to curry sustainable and cohesive popular support.[72] The state's adoption of a carrot-and-stick strategy, some minor concessions and severe repressions had equal significance to the 'failure' of the radicalism itself.[73]

Even though the Scottish radical movement of the last decade of the eighteenth century ultimately ended in failure in terms of achieving its political aim, Scottish radical patriotism survived because of its adaptable and flexible nature. As the next chapter demonstrates, Scottish Loyalism during the eve of the Napoleonic war seemed to share a common platform of the dialectics of the nation versus tyranny with radical patriotism. Furthermore, the post-Napoleonic war saw the revival of radical patriotism as a means to legitimise their political activity, which was spurred by the discontents of war veterans and the on-going high taxation (chapter seven).[74] If this was the case, how did the conservatives react to radical patriotism and the Covenanter chapbooks? This will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

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On 13 June 1815, there was a public march organised by the residents of Strathaven to commemorate the Battle of Drumclog. They organised the march under the conduct of a retired army surgeon called Gavin Hamilton. The march was advertised

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[71] Whatley, *Scottish society*, pp. 302-3.
[72] McLeod, 'A city invincible?', pp. 162-63.
[73] Whatley, *Scottish society*, pp. 291, 302, Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, p. 417.

not only in Strathaven but also its surrounding area. Thanks to Hamilton and his committee's effort, the march attracted probably more than 3,000 people. The march firstly proceeded from Strathaven to the Battlefield of Drumclog, and then to Allanton where Hamilton and his committee thought that William Wallace fought his first battle, and Hamilton delivered a speech commemorating the victory. The march went back to Strathaven and Hamilton and the committee members had some drink afterwards. This seemingly peaceful event or the expression of the residents' patriotism made William Aiton, the Sheriff-substitute of Lanarkshire alarmed.[75] Firstly, Aiton was at odds with Hamilton's speech:

> The intention of our meeting is to commemorate a reencounter which some of our forefathers commonly called the Covenanters, had in defence of their religious principles, on the 1st June, 1679.[76]

Aiton's strong aversion to the speech seemed to be derived from the fact that Hamilton did not specify 'with whom the Covenanters had that reencounter', and he went on to argue that the battle was a folly fought by the Covenanters with 'their misguised zeal and barbarity' who 'wished to extirpate every religion or system except their own peculiar religious opinions down the throats of their neighbours'.[77]

Aiton's hatred of the commemoration is not merely because of that his understanding of Scottish history was biased Tory ideology. He disliked the march because it would potentially undermine public peace. In the first place, he postulated the whole event as a Jacobin demonstration against law and order participated by 'the school boys, idlers (sic), and fools' as well as 'all the democratic people... whose

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[74] Fraser, *Scottish Popular Politics*, p. 30.
[75] James Young also uses the same account, but his conclusion is significantly different from this thesis. See, J. D. Young, *The rousing of the Scottish working class* (London, 1979), pp. 59-61.
[76] W. Aiton, *A history of the rencounter at Drumclog, and Battle at Bothwell Bridge, in the month of June, 1679: with an account of what is correct, and what is fictitious in the "Tales of my Landlord", respecting these engagements ; and reflections on political subjects* (Hamilton, 1821) pp.100-101.

hopes were then much elevated by the return of Bonaparte from Elba to France'.[78] Aiton's concern becomes clearer in his conclusion reflecting the recent disturbances caused by what he calls the 'Folly and Danger of the Lower Orders', and in his mind the Covenanters came to be as dangerous as the riotous populace, as both attempted to demolish the extant institutions and replace them with their own:

> ...if the Covenanters had been as victorious at Bothwell-Bridge, and any engagements that [extirpating the Episcopalian Church] might have followed... in stead of their establishing any thing like either civil or religious freedom, or rational liberty, they would have outraged all these, and set up the worst of tyranny both in Church and State.[79]

Aiton, then, turns to attack on the political participation of the 'lower orders of society':

> ...of all the errors gone into by any political party, that of calling out the simple peasantry, and illiterate mechanics, to join them in their political manoeuvres, and to set them agog on politics, was the greatest and most dangerous.... The science of Government is so far above the capacity, and out of the reach of people in labouring circumstances, that it is impossible they can ever form any correct opinion on the subject.[80]

In Aiton's mind, the evidence for the popular participation in politics was abundant in recent history. He points out that the lower orders were encouraged by the Whigs to lament the fall of Napoleon in 1812 while to rejoice his return to European politics from the exile in Elba in 1815. Not only did Reform and the rebellion become synonymous but that those 'Radicals' threatened Government as well as law, religion and constitution by preparing for armed riots.

Regardless of the failure or success of the radical movement during the late-eighteenth century, it is certain that the radicals were perceived as dangerous to the middling orders in Scottish society. Accordingly, such a sense of crisis found was in

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[77] Ibid., p. 99.
[78] Ibid., p. 99.
[79] Ibid., p.120.
[80] Ibid. pp. 123-24.

the language of the conservative middling sorts, which was coupled with their withdrawal from constructing the language of nation based on the dichotomy of the nation versus tyranny. William Aiton's concern and denunciation of radicalism such as the Friends of the People demanding liberty and equality can be found in other literature as well as chapbooks.[81] There was a shared point of projecting such movement as threat to the existing order.[82] In a chapbook, *Right and Equality, Constitution, Organisation, and Kings*, John Bull explains to his brother Tom that the Friends of the People and any other movements demanding liberty and equality would lead Britain to the state of anarchy in which the landed classes would lose their property to the mobs:

> As all power is in the people, they say there can be no lawful Government but what the people make. When all power is taken from those who are now entitled to it by law, and put into the hands of the mob armed with pikes and daggers, that's a *Constitution*, John. Then out of this, the said mob raises what they call *Organs* and *Functions*, and makes a Government; but they have been as it is in France for four years, and though they have worked very hard sometimes, they have hardly got to the beginning yet.- And now have you not sense enough to see what a fine contrivance this is for plundering every gentleman of his property, his house, his land, his goods, and his money, under a pretence that every thing belongs to the *Nation*?[83]

Furthermore, in a poem *Carlop Green, or equality realised in three cantos*, allegedly published in 1793, James, an Edinburgh merchant and a member of the Friends of

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[81] Another example in this regard is Anon., *Comic Poems of the Years 1685 and 1793; on Rustic Scenes in Scotland, at the times to which they after: with explanatory and illustrative notes* (Edinburgh, 1817). Although the poem itself is written in a jocular manner, it warns the landed class the danger of losing their estates if the landed people accepted the Friends of People style democracy and equality. John Bull, the quintessential icon of Britishness, seems to be constructed according to its user and a particular historical situation. As for the discussion of John Bull as the icon for the conservatives in English context, see. O. Smith, *The politics of language, 1791-1819* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 74-77, while M. Taylor, 'John Bull and the Iconography of public opinion in England, c. 1712-1929', *P&P*, 134 (1992) provides more recent account. On the so-called popular culture and its role in "democratising" Scottish society, see W. B. McCarthy, 'The Polarisation of Scots society and ballad collecting in the early nineteenth century', *Lore & Language*, 12 (1994), and *The ballad matrix*, chs. 1 and 2.

[82] Nenadic, 'Political Reform and the "Ordering'' of Middle-Class Protest' in Devine, *Conflict and Stability*, p. 72.

[83] Anon., *Right and Equality, Constitution, Organization, and Kings, explained; or one penny worth of truth in an ingenious letter from Thomas Bull to his brother John To which are added the ten*

the People loses his cow to two sailors passing by, while he gives a lecture on Equality to his business partner John an honest farmer. The poem ends with James's conversion to the good order, comforts and security:

> Quoth John to James, 'what think you now?
> 'Is't this you call *equality*?'---
> Quoth James to John; 'it surely is;
> 'Though 't wont do in *reality*.'---
>
> 'Ore James got back to Edinburgh town,
> Without cash or cow,
> He'd got his fill of *Sans-culottes*,
> And *levelling* I trow:[84]

Another point noticeable among these examples is that the notion of nationhood envisioned in the chapbooks about William Wallace, Bannockburn and the Covenanters could not be found in these chapbooks and tracts. For the conservatives like Aiton, the nationhood based on the dichotomy of the nation and tyranny employing historical icons such as the Covenanters was at best a nuisance to the maintenance of the extant law and order, and at worst threat to bring anarchy taking place in France.

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The chapbooks as well as literature between 1780 and 1830 demonstrate that there were two different concepts of nationhood. The first concept of nationhood is constructed around the dichotomy of nation and tyranny. The maintenance of this type of nationhood would promise civil as well as religious liberty, just as Wallace and the Covenanters ardently did. The second set of nationhood is constructed

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commandments as they are now adopted in France also, King, Liberty, and Laws a New Song, (Dumfries, n. d.)

around the dichotomy of Scotland as a country and of other countries. In this regard, the notion of Scottish nationhood had to be built in order to be compatible with the present situation: Scotland as one of the nations within the Britain. Although Scottish nationhood was preserved in the narratives of the Battle of Bannockburn, William Wallace and the late Covenanters, the most 'radical' reading of these stories did not go beyond this tendency to maintain the political framework and Great Britain and later the British Empire, as we examined in section four of this chapter.

The narrative and plot structure of the chapbooks and other tracts were determined by employing either or both concepts of nationhood according to the situation. This, for instance, explains why the Battle of Bannockburn in those chapbooks was written in that peculiar manner. Furthermore, the chapter has attempted to demonstrate that national identity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is far more elusive, situational and varied than previously held.

This elusive and situational nature of national identity present in those chapbooks can also be ascribed to the 'open' nature of chapbooks as well. Chapbooks could have been circulated extensively in Scotland both in terms of geography and in terms of readership. The so-called folk memory such as oral tradition now became part of what can be termed as national memory through chapbooks. The emergence of national memory through chapbooks could also provide a common language. For instance, William, the sheriff substitute of Hamilton and the people who Aiton termed 'idlers' and the 'democratic people' used the same historical language for the Covenanters. Where they differed, however, was the way they understood the meaning of this common language. In this sense

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[84] *Comic Poems of the Years 1685 and 1793*, p. 150.

chapbook literature itself was not exclusive to a particular social group, as previously suggested, though its reception was varied.

The next chapter will examine how another set of 'selfhood' and 'otherness' of the Scottish nation mainly in the loyalist chapbooks of the Napoleonic war period. At first glance, the language of radical patriotism found among the chapbooks on Wallace, Bruce and the Covenanters seems to locate itself at the other end of the political spectrum from the loyalist chapbooks. However, the construction of Scottishness in the loyalist chapbooks held a striking similarity with the language of radical patriotism, as both employ the concept of nationhood based on the dialectic of nation versus tyranny. This point suggests that while their political end was different, both camps were motivated by their intention to participate in what was British politics in order to achieve their goal.

Chapter 4

Self and Otherness:

Loyalism and patriotism in Scottish chapbooks

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From chapter one to the previous chapter, the focus has been on the question of how the idea of Scottish nationhood was constructed through the various chapbooks of the period. Chapter one pointed out that the malleable and flexible nature of chapbooks derived from both their content and readership reveal that contrary to the received wisdom amongst historians, both the readership and authorship of chapbooks cannot be easily restricted to one particular social group. This leads us to cast scepticism on the use of term 'popular' for this type of literature. Chapter two was an attempt to examine how seemingly 'unproblematic'—from the vantage of the twenty-first century—Scottish patriotic icons have been, whereas they have in fact received a very oblique eulogy in the chapbooks.

This oblique way to use historical heroes when constructing Scottish nationhood was particularly common in chapbooks concerned with the medieval Scottish king Robert Bruce. One of the reasons for vagueness in asserting Scottish nationhood through national heroes was sought in the dialectics of the 'nation' and 'tyrant' present in those chapbooks. While Wallace and to lesser extent Bruce were defined and described as the defenders of Scottish liberty, their enemy was not other nations but the abstract universal concept of tyrant. In the stories of both heroes, Edward I was used as the personification of this tyrant whereas Edward I's own

kingdom—England—was not used as the representation of otherness which was essential to form Scottish nationhood.

This absence of clarified otherness was also found in the chapbooks on the late Covenanters, which was extensively discussed in chapter three. Like those on Wallace and Bruce, the Covenanters and the presbyterian martyrs were used as the defenders of presbyterian Scottishness, preventing the tyrant from usurping their nation. Again the narrative was based on the plot of the nation and its battle against an abstract enemy, a tyrant. The previous chapter also pointed out that this concept of nationhood based on the dichotomy of the nation versus tyranny could be particularly useful for radicals in the 1790s and beyond. This point was further discussed around William Aiton, the Tory deputy sheriff of Lanarkshire, and his reading of the battle of Bothwell Bridge and of the Covenanters. In Aiton's eyes, the supporters of the Covenanters were the followers of the French Revolution who were trying to disrupt the law and liberty of the Scottish as well as British nation, toppling the British monarchy. Aiton's understanding of the story of the Covenanters and his view on the French 'Jacobins' seem to be prevalent among the propertied classes in Scotland, which are exemplified by Walter Scott's writings such as *Visionary* and *Old Mortality* as well as chapbooks such as *Right and Equality* or *Comic Poems of the Years 1685 and 1793*.[1] On the other hand, in reality it is difficult to find that these chapbooks on the Covenanters came to provide a useful vocabulary for the radicals. This is especially because the radicals such as the United Scotsmen became an underground organisation attempting to leave no trace of their activity by limiting its membership. Moreover, as we have seen, the language of religious freedom provided

by the Covenanter chapbooks did not wholly fit into the radicals' emphasis on the British perspective.

The Militia Riot in 1797, however, reveals some of people's understanding of politics and the role of the king, as Ken Logue points out.[2] They opposed the Militia Act not because of their hatred of the king who held the ultimate responsibility for the implementation of the Act, but of impropriety found in the process of choosing volunteers for the Militia: as the rioters felt to be 'force' to join in the services.[3] This is testified through the language employed in the petitions to the King

> We, your Majesty's Subject, are confident, that the impracticability of carrying this Act into execution, without trenching upon the dearest Constitutional rights of a very valuable class of your Majesty's Subjects, needs but to be represented to your majesty to induce you to apply the remedy which the Act itself has put in your power.[4]

Despite of the United Scotsmen's strenuous effort to materialise this incident for their advantage, the riots ended in three months, and the rioters accepted the Act six months later. Christopher Whatley finds the main reason for this in the purpose of the Riot: the maintenance of the *status quo*.[5] Accordingly, once the rioters achieved their purpose by destroying the record book for ballot, they did not think about going further by joining the United Scotsmen. Another point is the existence of loyalism among the ordinary people in Scotland. Whatley's study of the celebration of the Royal Birthday and Emma Vincent McLeod's study of the Volunteers in Edinburgh

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[1] As for the further discussion on Scott's *Old Mortality* and its reception, see chapter five.
[2] Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland*, pp. 75-115. As for the intellectual background to the Militia issue, see, J. Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the militia issue* (Edinburgh, 1985), especially, pp. 1-21.
[3] Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland*, pp. 107, 114.
[4] Quoted in ibid., p. 105
[5] Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p. 291.

demonstrate to what extent loyalism was disseminated among Scottish society.[6] This strength of loyalism is also studied in Linda Colley's celebrated work *Britons*. In this sense, the Militia Riot was a way to express their discontent with the attempt to change the *status quo*, which was fought within the framework of what William Donaldson calls 'abstract monarchist legitimism'.[7]

If this is the case, how did people express their loyalism, and what vocabulary did they use to express their loyalty to the nation? And what was the meaning of the nation for them? The present chapter will answer these questions by analysing a series of chapbooks which project the images of self and other within the loyalist context. Firstly, Dougal Graham's account of the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745-46 is looked at closely. As chapter one has offered some bibliographical account, it needs only briefly to mention that Graham was an eighteenth century chapman cum chapbook writer, having experienced the 1745-46 Jacobite rebellion at first hand as a camp follower to Prince Charles's army. His account of the Rebellion was published in September 1746, straight after the battle of Culloden, and it became an immense success: his account was published repeatedly with revised and shortened editions even in the mid-nineteenth century. While Dougal does not to seem sympathise with the Jacobites headed by Prince Charles, he 'reveals' the extent of cruelty committed by the Duke of Cumberland and his army. Furthermore, Graham is rather evasive about defining the Highlands or at least unsure about his attitudes to them. His uncertainty towards the Highlands coincides with new ways to describe Highlanders

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[6] B. Harris and C. A. Whatley, '"To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday": New Perspectives on Loyalism in George II's Britain', *History* (1998), especially pp. 413-18, idem., 'Royal Day, People's Day', passim, MacLeod, 'A city invincible?' and idem, 'The Response of Scottish Churchmen'. See also, D. G. Baxter, 'Robert Burns and the politics of the French Revolution in Scotland', *Scottish Tradition* 15 (1989), p. 55.

in chapbooks. Unlike anti-Jacobitism as well as anti-Highland chapbooks and songs from the previous era, these chapbooks emphasise the sexual attractiveness of the Highlanders represented by the song 'The Caledonian Laddie' or their role played in Hanoverian Scotland.

Secondly, a large corpus of chapbooks on the life of Napoleon Bonaparte will be examined. Here, there seem to be three ways of describing the famous (and probably infamous) French Emperor: his ambitiousness, cruelty and unstoppable desire to conquer the British Isles. Some chapbooks contrast Napoleon with a new British icon John Bull, for example. Napoleon is also used to bolster national unity in terms of both Scottish and British perspectives. In one song 'Britons only conquer to save', while Napoleon's ambition for territorial expansion is denounced, British military activity is legitimised on the basis of national defence. Another feature of this so-to-speak anti-Napoleon literature is the usage of 'the nation and tyrant' dichotomy. However, unlike the chapbooks analysed in previous chapters, the Scottish and British nation's enemy is much more articulated in anti-Napoleon chapbooks: Napoleon is a tyrant and France is a country ruled by despotism.

Thirdly, loyalist chapbooks will be analysed through categorising them by four themes: the language of persuasion, liberty and law, pan-British heroes and Royalism. Each theme is inter-connected by a supra-theme of Scottish patriotism within the British Empire. Here, the Scottish nation is interchangeable with the British nation.

Fourthly, the history of this new Scottish nation in the British Empire will be explored. In this historiography, the historically unified nature of Scottish

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[7] W. Donaldson, *The Jacobite song, political myth and national identity* (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 91.

nationhood is emphasised, and attempt made to establish a common history of Britain is found: here the bridge is the history of the Norman yoke and both nations' efforts to liberate themselves from it. On the other hand, Scotland does not become a province of England, which is manifested through healthy rivalry with the other three nations in Britain, as found in a song such as 'The Lassies of Scotland'. This unity and healthy rivalry are also achieved through overt Royalism represented by the Festival of Union in 1807 and the Royal Visit of George IV in 1822. In these chapbooks, Scottish distinctiveness seems to be only workable within the British unity.

As chapbooks were the collection of differences in terms of their contents, there were some chapbooks which do not fit with the picture drawn above, and these are discussed in the last section. The song 'The Athol Highlanders' overtly opposed to the Volunteer and Militia movements, while Burns' famous song and the popularity of Ramsay's 'The Tales of Three Bonnets' indicate that some sections of Scottish society did not believe in this unity and rivalry. These anti-loyalists demonstrate that while many radicals came to stand in line with loyalists to oppose against France (including Burns himself), there still remained some sections of Scottish society who opposed the Napoleonic War for various reasons.

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Dougal Graham is one of the few exceptions in the Scottish chapbook genre in the sense that he admitted his authorship, and his numerous chapbooks seem to be extremely popular throughout Scotland and throughout his life-time and until the

mid-nineteenth century.[8] Among his numerous works, *An Impartial History of the rise, progress and extinction of the late Rebellion in Britain, in the years 1745 and 1746* seems to hold its popularity with three editions by his own hands including twenty reprints of the third edition up until 1828 as well as numerous other abridged editions.[9] The first edition was published in September 1746, five months after the battle of Culloden, sold at two pence.[10] While, as discussed in chapter one, there was a considerable difference in content between the first two editions and the third edition, the latter one is going to be analysed in this chapter because it was this edition that was available to the Scottish reading public during the period. His *Impartial History* consists of 132 pages of poetical description, the event starting with Prince Charles's landing and ending with his return to France. From the Preface, Graham's intention of being an observer recording the atrocity caused by both Highlanders and the Duke Cumberland's army becomes clear:

> –The Highlanders STEALT, RAIVT, and SIPPED the KIRN, I really think pinching Hunger caused most of their Disorders. —The Red-coats unmercifully houghed the Cows, and burnt the houses of many poor Folks who were innocent of the Rebellion.[11]

In this sense, one of the main themes in this story is arguably the account of how Lowland Scotland suffered from 'others' including Jacobites, Highlanders and the

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[8] See chapter one.

[9] D. Graham, *An Impartial History of the rise, progress and extinction of the late Rebellion in Britain, in the years 1745 and 1746 Giving an account of every battle, skirmish and siege, from the Time of the Pretender's coming out of France until he landed in France again: with Plans of the Battles of Preston-pans, Clifton, Falkirk, and Culloden* (Glasgow, 1774), and William Motherwell, 'Dougald Graham', *Paisley Magazine*, I, no. 13 (1828). Here, quote some figures from the Catalogue of Lauriston Castle Collection.

[10] *Glasgow Courant*, 29 September 1746, and the entire advertisement is as follows:
That there is to be sold by James Duncan Printer in Glasgow in the Saltmecat, the 2d Shop below Gibson's Wynd, a Book intituled, A Full, particular, and true Account of the late Rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746, beginning with the Pretenders Embarking for Scotland, and then account of every Battle, Siege and Skirmish that has happened n either Scotland or England. To which is added, several Address and Epistles to the Pope, Pagans, Poets and Pretender; all in Metre. Price Four Pence. But any booksellers or Packmen may have them easier from the said James Duncan, or the Author D. Grahame.
the like has not been done in Scotland since the Day of Sir David Lindsay.

British army. However, this ravaging of the Lowlands was certainly not part of Prince Charles' original intention to raise the army. Though he desired to assume the British Crown, his main intention was to dissolve the Union in order to relieve the Scots from financial burden of Malt, Salt and Coal Taxes.[12] However, Graham's observation seems to imply the legitimacy of Charles' claim upon the throne and his political manifesto was annulled by the atrocity of his chosen ally, the Highlanders, and some thieves joined in the Jacobite army tainting the good Highland cause:

> Without his knowledge of command,
> Some thievish bands, in many pars,
> To cloak their rog'ry, us'd these arts,
> In tartan dress'd from top to toe,
> Arms and livery had also;
> Plunder'd they by the Prince were sent,
> To levy horse, men and money,
> Extorting cash and horse from many;
> Excise and cess made people pay,
> And gave receits, so just were they:
> A famous way for making rich,
> But Charlie got the blame of such,
> Which did merit sore defame,
> And gave his men a thievish name.[13]

This hardship for the Lowlanders culminated when Prince Charles entered Edinburgh with his army where they tried to recruit soldiers, collect tax and levy other necessary commodities for war, which 'no man durst refute', and everyone was submissive to the order.[14] Up until Charles' army departed from Scotland, Graham is clear about the distinction between the Lowlands and the Highlands, but his geographical and ethnographical territorialisation of the Scottish nation became blurred when he described Charles and his army's activity in England when they received a cold response 'some kind enough; but no way friendly':

> Said the Scots Chiefs, "We blinded be,

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[11] Graham, *Impartial History*, Preface.
[12] Ibid., pp. 7-9.
[13] Ibid., pp.11-12
[14] Ibid., p. 27.

Thart's come far from our own countrie.
As friends, indeed, some English own us;
But if once defeat, they'd set upon us.[15]

Graham, on the other hand, tries to apply the formula of dynastic division to Scotland— the Georgian Lowlands and the Jacobite Highlands— and by so doing the Rebellion had a dimension of British civil war as well as a Scottish one. This divided nature of the Scottish political landscape was serious enough to see a bloody battle between the two camps at, for instance, the Battle of Falkirk:

The volunteers, who zealous
Kept firing close, till near surrounded,
And by the flying horse confounded:
They suffer'd sore into this place,
No Highlander pity'd their case—
You curs'd Militia, They did swear,
What a devil did bring you here?[16]

Thus political division in Scotland is emphasised, something the Duke of Cumberland himself knew all too well. For Cumberland, Prince Charles and his Highland army were their mortal foe because of their disturbing of 'BRITON's peace', which prompted him to annihilate the Highlanders at the battlefield of Culloden:

Two thousand lay upon the field,
And those who took flight for their bield,
Through Inverness and all about,
Were hew'd down in this bloody rout:
For Kingston's men were young and rude,
Of mercy nought they understood,
When answer'd by a Highland tongue;
But used cruelty all along.[17]

While Graham's account is similar to others in the pro-Hanoverian literature, there are several points which differ from the latter. Firstly, his geopolitical construction

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[15] Ibid., p. 31.
[16] Ibid., p.58, and a similar comment is found in page 114:
But one thing of Highlanders I see,
To them they serve they'll faithful be;
For those who serv'd King George just here,
'Gainst the rebels prov'd most severe

of Scotland is not so clear, which was probably a reflection of his original conviction, being a Lowland-born Jacobite sympathiser. For Graham, arguably the Jacobite cause was noble but the motivation of the followers of was not. On the other hand, he describes how trivial this distinction was to the English eye, by using the term Scotland to represent the Highlands. Secondly, the Duke of Cumberland is not exonerated from his men's cold blooded atrocity which differs, for instance, from *An Excellent New Song, inititled the Proceedings of the Rebels in the Year Forty Five, Six* (n. d.). In the latter song, the Duke of Cumberland was 'our noble Duke, so brave and stout', and it does not mention any atrocity committed at the aftermath of Culloden.[18] The main plot in *the Proceedings of the Rebels* is much more straight forward than Graham's account: Hanoverian Britain's noble struggle against the 'hellish' Jacobites.

Graham's *Impartial History* is also different from the chapbooks printed in the early-nineteenth century. Among the later accounts of the '45 the issue is treated in a *de facto* manner without committing to any detail of the aftermath of Culloden.[19] Nor is there any description of the barbarity of the Highlanders. Instead, the aftermath of Culloden was followed by Prince Charles' fugitive adventure in the western Highlands. While Graham tries to be impartial about his account by writing on atrocities committed by both sides, many of the later accounts aim at the same effect by omitting the atrocities altogether.

Seeing the Highlands as essentially different from the Lowlands, on the

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[17] ibid., p. 94

[18] Anon., *An Excellent New song, intited the Proceedings of the Rebels in the Year Forty Five, Six, with the total Overthrow of the Rebel army by His Royal highness the Duke of CUMBERLAND, and his brave at CULLODEN, near Inverness* (n. p., n. d.).

[19] For instance, see Anon. *The History of Prince Charles Edward Stuart Commonly called the*

other hand, persisted in the chapbooks of this period. Yet, instead of inflaming the sense of anger against the Highlanders, a rational and calm voice explaining the difference came to be common. Thus, in a historical account of Viscount Dundee, for example, his campaign is interspersed with an ethnographical account of the Highlands.[20] They are racially different from the Lowland Scots:

> A people untouched by the Romans or Saxon invasions on the south, and by those the Danes on the east and west skirts of their country: the unmixed remains of the Celtic empire, which once stretched from the pillars of Hercules to Archangel. As the manners of this race of men were, in the days of our fathers, the most singular in Europe, and, in those of our sons, may be found no where but in the records of history, it is proper here to describe them.[21]

As will be discussed below, the place of the Highlands in the Scottish national landscape is more complicated than its mere dismissal, though an attempt to equate the Jacobites with the Highlanders lingers well into the nineteenth century.[22] In the Scottish chapbooks of this period, the Highlands and the Highlanders were venerated for their sexual attraction in some chapbooks, while other chapbooks described them as comical figures, romantic protagonists, valiant soldiers and the object of anthropological studies.[23] If anything was 'invented' during this period, as Terence Ranger and Hugh Trevor-Roper would argue, it was this protean nature of the Highlands, one which would fit with various circumstances as well as one which could become an icon of different and sometimes conflicting ideologies, just like the

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Pretender (Glasgow, n. d.).

[20] Anon., *The Gallant Exploits of Lord Dundee; Containing A description of the Battle of Killikranky, and an account of the Heroic Adventures of the Officers who survived that Battle, interspersed with Remarks on the Manners, Customs, &c of the Ancient Highlanders* (Greenock, n. d.)

[21] Ibid., p. 6.

[22] See chapter three.

[23] Donaldson, *Jacobite Songs*. There are some chapbooks including an explicit connotation of the sexual attractiveness of the Highlanders. 'The Caledonian laddie', for instance, is a song on a Lowland girl's longing for a Highlandman despite of her parents' opposition to such a marriage. See, 'The Caledonian laddie', in Anon., *The Defence of Scotland. To which are added. Sweet annie's love to jockey, The Soldier's farewell, come all ye social powers, the Caledonian laddie, Let gay ones and great* (Glasgow, 1803). As for a Highlander as a comical figure, Graham's *John Highlandman's Remarks on Glasgow* is a good example. No exception to his writings, there are many reprints

notion of Scottish nationhood.[24] Thanks to this newly given quality, the Highlands were to represent an 'ethnic' group, a nation, or a social group at times according to a given circumstance, though the massacre of Glencoe was still not employed as an icon to protest against England or the central government in the early nineteenth century.[25] The next two chapters will discuss the process of the Highlands becoming a consumer object, but this was probably nothing but part of a wider process of separating the Highlands from a particular and fixed socio-political force. The first step for making the Highlands protean is arguably taken through incorporating the area into a proper map of Scotland as found in a song 'In praise of the Highland lads' celebrating their loyalty to the reigning monarch regardless of dynasty:

> 43 But I refer it just to men of skill,
> He was forc'd to obey his Lordship's will,
> Or you would have never seen him in the hill,
> Or with the Excise in the morning.
>
> 44 But may our Scottish Chiefs be always brave,
> And like their ancestors well behave,
> And send their enemies to their grave,
> In times of war in the morning.
>
> 45 May they to their country still be true,
> Just like to the unchanging blue,
> And their King's enemies all subdue,
> Among Scotland's glens in the morning.
>
> 46 But tho' highland lads do hate the Excise,
> They for their King would quickly rise,
> And all his enemies would despise,
> Among Scotland's glens in the morning.[26]

The song reveals this process of incorporating the Highlands into Scotland and

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published around Scotland through out the period.

[24] E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983). It is rather ironical that this protean and flexible nature of the Highlands came later to enable themselves to be an icon of proletariat (the victim of capitalist landlords). Some understanding of the Highland Clearance would arguably be part of this theme.

[25] Anon., *The massacre of Glenco. In a letter from a Gentleman in Edinburgh to his friend in London*, (Paisley, 1801)

[26] J. M. Glenlivat, 'A song in praise of the Highland lads' in *A song in praise of the Highland lads To the tune of Johnny Cop* (Aberdeen, 1826), p. 6.

subsequently into Britain through narrating clans' skirmish against the British Excise over the latter's attempt to seize illicit whisky, and Lord Fife's mediation with both sides. Before the mediation of Lord Fife, they lived in 'Noghty glens'. After their subsequent submission to Lord Fife, they expressed their intention to obeisance (stanza 43), which meant they became part of Scotland (stanza 45). This leads to the author's reiteration of the history of Scotland and her neighbours (stanza 47), and to the present state of Scotland (stanzas 48 to 51):

> 47The valiant Scots the Romans fought,
> The Danes they did reduce to nought,
> The Engish to subjection brought,,
> Among Scotland's glens in the morning.
>
> 48 May the valiant Scots their broad swords wield
> And long be masters of the field,
> And make their King's enemies to tield,
> Among Scotland's glens in the morning.
>
> 49 May the Hanoverian race the throne long feill,
> And their subject loyal still,
> To be submissive to th their will,
> Among Scotland's glens in the morning.
>
> 50 May their Navy long the seas command,
> May Peach abound on every hand,
> And may our enemies never land
> Among Briton's Isles in the morning.
>
> 51 May George IV the crown long wear,
> May all his enemies disappear,
> And his loyal subject his hear cheer,
> Among Briton's Isles in the morning.

As discussed below, this theme of pacification and glorification of the Highland military prowess seems to be a common formula in loyalist chapbooks, especially those printed during the Napoleonic War. On the other hand, the sense of 'otherness' associated with the Highlands remained even after the process of pacification had begun.

This lingering sense of 'otherness' could be also found in the description of Ireland in these Scottish chapbooks. Like the Highlands, the Irish are at times treated

as comical figures, yet it was a religious division between the Highlanders and Irish to construct a different kind of otherness.[27] The overtly anti-Irish and anti-Catholic chapbook *An abstract of the bloody massacre in Ireland* was repeatedly printed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[28] The Chapbook explains in gruelling detail how Irish people were prompted to kill Protestant English, Scots and Welsh people with the emphasis on the role of Catholic priests as instigators of the Massacre:

> ... the Protestant being as they told them, worse than dogs, for they were devils, and therefore the killing of such was a *Meritorious act, and a rare preservative against the pains of Purgatory...*[29]

There are several points noteworthy in this chapbook. Firstly, the chapbook puts an emphasis on the atrocity caused by Catholics rather than revealing the savage nature of Irishness, which is found in the participation of English Catholics in the Massacre: 'The Popish English were no whit inferior; yea, rather exceeded the natural Irish in their cruelty against the Protestants that lived amongst them...'[30] Secondly, the date of printing coincide with both the Militia Riot in Ireland (1787) and the eve of The Union with Ireland (1801). Although Elaine McFarland convincingly demonstrates the strength and extent of radical connection in Ireland and Scotland through the activities of the Friends of People and the United

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[27] A good example in this regard is Dougal Graham's *The comical sayings of Paddy from Cork*, which was repeatedly published around Scotland. One edition was published in 1840.

[28] Anon., *An abstract of the bloody massacre in Ireland, Acted at the Instigation of the Jesuits, priests and friars, who were chief Promoters of these horrible murders; prodigious Cruelties, barbarous villainies, and inhuman practices, executed by the Irish papists upon the English protestants, in the year, 1641. And intended to have been acted over again, on Sabbath day, 9th Dec, 1688. But, by the wonderful Providence of God, was prevented.* (Glasgow, 1787). The same title was also printed in 1800. As for the use of the massacre of 1641 in Hanoverian England, see, K. Wilson, *The Sense of People*, p. 90.

[29] Ibid., p. 6.

[30] Ibid., p. 19.

Scotsmen, this way of denouncing Ireland as mortal foe of Protestant Britain existed, showing the extent of British protestant loyalism.[31] Such strong sense of anti-Catholicism is also captured in a song 'A New SONG in praise of Lord George Gordon':

> Let England, Ireland both combine,
> With popery freedom fraughted,
> We'll never trust a Popish oath,
> As longs our sword's are shafted.
> My cheery song, &c
>
> This noble Lord when that blackbill,
> Was turned for this nation
> He boldly stood against their will,
> With lofty approbation,
> My cheery song, &c
>
> Then down to Scotland he did come,
> Was chose their defender,
> The Protestant cause for to maintain,
> He's true, and no pretender.
> My cheery song, &c[32].

Thirdly, the title demonstrates their understanding of seventeenth-century history: the suffering of England and to some extent other Protestant nations in Britain, only salvaged in 1688, the year of Glorious Revolution, achieved with divine help.

Various elements which constituted 'otherness' in these chapbooks have been examined: 'otherness' existing within the framework of Scotland (Jacobites and the Highlands) and of Britain (Jacobites and Ireland). Such distinctive otherness constructed in these chapbooks was to be replaced with stronger and more dangerous other—Napoleonic France in the midst of the Napoleonic war, which will be examined in the next section.

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[31] McFarland, , *Ireland and Scotland in the Age of Revolution*, passim. On the protestant reading of the Battle of Boyne in Irish chapbooks, see O' Ciosain, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland*, chapter 6.
[32] Anon., *Three Excellent New Songs I. A New SONG in praise of Lord George Gordon II. The Life and Transactions of Paul Jones III. Paul Jones' Expedition* (n. p., n. d.), p. 3.

3

There seems to be two main categories of chapbooks concerned with the French leader Napoleon Bonaparte.[33] The first group provides the biographical knowledge of Napoleon, and the second is warnings against the Scottish reading public of potential danger posed by Napoleon's personality.

A couple of common points could be drawn from the biographical chapbooks on Napoleon. Firstly, his ambitious character is emphasised. *The entertaining history of the early years of General Bonaparte* (1804) is a good example in this regard.[34] The anonymous author of this account explains Napoleon's ambitious character in his aloofness from his classmates:

> Bonaparte shewed very early the desire or rather the deed of liberty. The love of his country of the Island of Corsica, which he then confessed as his native home, triumphed already over the sentiment of gratitude due to the bounty of the king. The idea or dependence appear to him degrading, he was humbled by it, and often indignant to be exposed to the malicious witticisms of his comrades on the union of Corsica to the monarchy of France, "I hope to be able" replied he in the tone of an offended spirit " I hope to be able one day to restore it to freedom?" Unconscious then than he was to be called in a few years to fix the power of France itself, and decide the fate of the other great states of Europe.[35]

This theme of his aloofness and this ambition derived from his background - born in recently incorporated Corsica - is further enhanced by descriptive words such as 'gloomy', 'fierce to excess' taken root in his love of gardening: Napoleon being

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[33] There are relatively few studies on the British perception of Napoleon, but an exception is Iain Pears' article on the Victorian image of Napoleon and Wellington; see I. Pears, 'The Gentleman and the Hero: Wellington and Napoleon in the Nineteenth Century', in R. Porter (ed.), *Myths of the English* (Cambridge, 1992), while S. Semmel 'British radicals and 'legitimacy': Napoleon in the mirror of history', *P&P*, 167 (2000) demonstrates the radical adaptation of Napoleon as the language of legitimacy.

[34] Anon., *The entertaining history of the early years of General Bonaparte, Commander in chief of the French forces in the late war between Great Britain and France. By Royal Emigrant. Bonaparte's school companions* (1804, Stirling). This chapbook seems to be popular among the Scottish reading public, as it went through reprinting for several times. A similar theme is also found among some post-war publication such as Anon. *The History of the Empress Josephine The consort of Napoleon Bonaparte* (Edinburgh, n. d.). The author ascribes the cause of their divorce to Napoleon's ambition to create an inheritable empire which could not be materialised by Josephine. (cf. ibid., p. 16.)

rather homophobic with a hidden ambition for the restoration of his native country. He also showed the glimpse of military skill in a snowball fight.[36] It was, however, an incident at school that revealed his *sang-froid* character. On the day of St Louis in 1785, while his classmates were fully engaged in celebrating the King by fireworks, Napoleon had retreated to his room to continue studying. And then due to some mistakes on handling the fireworks, many started to explode, consequently claiming some injuries and lives among his class-mates. Against his class mates rushing into his garden out of fear and seeking refuge, 'Bonaparte was seen, armed with a pick-axe pushing into the fire all those who had burst through his fence: he became enraged in feeling the destruction of his arbour and the blows which he bestowed on the unhappy fugitives, increased the number of the wounded.'[37]

This theme of Napoleon's cruelty is the second common topic found in the Scottish chapbooks of this period. *A short account of Bonaparte's cruel conduct in Syria* is wholly devoted to recording how heartless Napoleon was during his Egypt campaign.[38] *A short account* is a catalogue of the atrocities allegedly committed by him. For instance, after the fall of Jeffa, Napoleon 'ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jeffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired... and Bonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his

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[35] *Entertaining History*, p. 7.
[36] Ibid., p.13.
[37] Ibid., pp. 17-18
[38] Anon., *A short account of Bonaparte's cruel conduct in Syria Taken from Sir Robert Wilson's history of British expedition in Egypt &c lately published* (Stirling, 1806).

joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval...'[39] He was also reported to evict the sick from hospital and poison them.

This portrait of Napoleon - ambitious and cruel - seems to be the main plot devise for other loyalist chapbooks concerned with Napoleon drawing Scottish people's attention to potential danger he posed. Songs such as 'Bonaparte's Answer to John Bull's Card' and 'John Bull's Answer to Bonaparte's Request' well exemplify this point.[40] Albeit that both songs are one of a comic nature, the threat posed to Britain was serious. In 'Bonaparte's Answer', Napoleon's ambition to conquer all nations in the British Isles is clear by listing what he would like to do in each nation after conquest.[41] For instance, on Scotland:

> Caledonia I long to see,
> And if the stout fleet in the North
> Will let us go by quietly,
> Then I'll sail up the Firth of Forth.
> Her sons I must own, they are dashing,
> Yet Johnny between me and you,
> I owe them a grudge for the thrashing,
> They gave me that poor devil Menou.
>
> Chorus
> O my Sawney, my Sawney,
> Your bag pipes will make us all frisky,
> We'll dance with your lassies for bonny,
> Eat haggis and tipple your whiskey.[42]

Napoleon's wish list goes on for the four nations in the British Isles. It is also interesting to see that Napoleon shows some sympathy with three nations (Wales, Scotland and Ireland) but not with England. While in Wales Napoleon would 'prattle and kiss with the fair/ Give the men the fraternal embrace', he would 'give them

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[39] Ibid., p. 4.
[40] Anon., *Bonaparte's Answer to John Bull's Card To which are added, The game of life, I travell'd Judah's barren sand, the braes of Yarrow, and soldier dick's cred.*, (Glasgow, 1804) and Anon., *John Bull's Answer to Bonaparte's Request To which are added, This is no my ain house, The Perth Volunteers in Brigade, and Life's like a Sea in constant motion* (Haddington, n. d.).
[41] J. C. D. Clark, 'Protestantism, nationalism, and national identity: 1660-1832', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), p. 258.

FRENCH LIBERTY still/ as I have to the Dutch and the Swiss', indicating some connections, for instance underground radical activity, among these three nations with France. This enterprise of conquering the British Isles would be realised thanks to the short distance between the two countries, 'a fair wind and thirty-six hours', providing the British navy would let the French pass the Channel, which was impossible:

> But my fears they mount up, up, up,
> And my hopes they sink down-y down-y.
> My heart it beats backwards and forwards,
> My head it turns round-y round-y[43]

This declaration of naval supremacy is a recurring theme in loyalist chapbooks during the Napoleonic war, and 'John Bull's Answer' shows this following the British military victory over France. The song also boasts of the unity of nations in the British Isles, though there is no mention of Wales here:

> And I, John Bull, will not be slack,
> And Sawney he'd be at our back,
> And Pady will join us in a crack,
> When you come o'er in the morning.
>
> Now Bonaparte we don't value your spight,
> Tho' blood and slaughter's your delight,
> You may shew your teeth, but you dare not bite
> Old Britons in the morning
>
> Now Bonaparte come out if you please,
> To the lads thart's on the raging seas,
> Who live on salt pork, beef, and peas,
> They'll give you a snuff in the morning.[44]

Napoleon, thus, cannot win a war against John Bull's nation. These songs provided the necessary images for nurturing anti-Bonapartism with the Scottish reading public. So what language was employed to demonstrate anti-Bonapartism? And how was the Scottish nationhood constructed in relation to it? The next section will provide some

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[42] *Bonaparte's Answer*, p. 3.
[43] ibid., p.4.

answers to these questions.

4

There seem to be several common narrative patterns amongst the anti-Napoleon chapbooks. Firstly, the songs draw Scotland's chapbook reading public's attention to the imminent danger it faced from the invasion. The first two stanzas in 'A patriotic song, or Bonaparte will be here' (plate 4-1) illustrate this point:

> Come a' ye gallant Scottish swains,
> Frae town and cottage, hills and plains,
> Let every village beat to arms,
> And join the warlike quorum.
>
> For Bonaparte he'll be here,
> Bonaparte, Bonaparte,
> For Bonaparte he'll be here,
> The muckle devils more him[45]

This sense of urgency is also found in another song 'Bonaparte's Garland' as 'I hope Bonaparte will never come here/ For to take away our goods and our gear'.[46] Secondly, these songs explain the danger of Napoleon because of his evil quality by employing expressions such as 'devils', 'just a pest', 'duble rogue', 'the Corsican billie', 'the bald braggart' and more significantly 'tyrant'.[47] These phrases are encapsulated in 'The true Briton's resolution to conquer or die' as that 'He's a

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[44] *John Bull's Answer*, p.3.

[45] Anon. *A Patriotic song, or Bonaparte will be here. To which is added, A New Song, in favour of our Militia* (Aberdeen, n. d.), p. 2.

[46] Anon., *Bonaparte's garland. To which are added, My apron deary. The soldier's farewel. A patriotic song. Sweet Robin's elopement. My trim-built wherry. Drive me not to despair* (Glasgow, 1804), p. 2.

[47] 'Bonaparte will be here', 'Bonaparte's Garland', 'Fy let us a' to the battle' in *Four excellent new songs Viz The sailor's adventure for a wife, Jack of all trades, Fy let us a' to the battle, The Egyptian Wedding* (Edinburgh, n. d.) and Anon., *The Lass of Calder Braes: To which is added, The Lass of Torrance Glen, AND The French Fleet Dismantled or Bonaparte's Ramble to the Rhine, Of all the Brave Birds, Come Empty all your Bowls* (Stirling, 1805). An interesting point here is that some songs define the nationality of Napoleon as Corsican. This could have been a reflection of 'Entertaining

Tyrant, a Villain, the King of Ambition'.[48] The song, 'The French Dismantled or Bonaparte's Ramble to the Rhine' arguably succeeds in completing a bleak picture of Naopleon's conquered Europe:

> I laugh when I think on the Dutch,
> How they are self deceived;
> They rotten-hearted prov'd to us,
> The duble rogue believed,
> We're a'born, &c.
>
> See how the tyrant whips them up!
> They rue their mean devotion;
> They've lost the German's on the land,
> and Britons on the ocean.
> We're a'born &c.
>
> The Swiss too smarts beneath his rod,
> And Italy is wretched,
> While all these countries by his slaves
> Are plunder'd and debauched.
> We're a'born &c.[49]

The song, however, contrasts this enslaved European countries with the freedom enjoyed in Britain, which is seemingly an essential component and a recurring theme in both anti-Napoleon and loyalist chapbooks:

> We're a'born British boys,
> We're a' born free,
> We're a' born British boys,
> We'll fight for liberty.[50]

British Freedom is going to be earnestly protected by the British valour which includes Scottish and indeed Highland soldiers. Here, a narrative device to assimilate the Highlands into Scotland, discussed above, is adopted to express their united loyalty to Scotland by employing rhetoric such as 'Each bosom is British true blue'

History' in which his ambitious nature is partly ascribed to Napoleon's nationality.

[48] Anon., *The true Briton's resolution to conquer or die. To which are added, Let war sound the trumpet. Jack's disaster, or Turn in or turn out. Gragal ma chree. With the Answer. I thought it was queer. The forsaken nymph. The terrible law* (Glasgow, 1803)

[49] 'Bonaparte's Ramble to the Rhine', pp. 5-6.

[50] Ibid., p. 5. This theme is further examined in relation to Scottish loyalism in the following section.

or 'Our auld Claymore we'll try again/ And Highland blood devour him'.[51]

While Napoleon - in Scottish chapbooks during the Napoleonic War - is depicted as a usurper to British Freedom, post-war chapbooks take a more considered view on him, though hostility seemed to be transferred to mockery at times. The latter feeling is found in 'The Battle of Waterloo' sniggering at captive and wounded French solders' continued loyalty to Napoleon:

> Death was at work at here, more manifestly than we had observed among the English wounded. One man was pointed out who had tossed his amputated arm in the air, with a feeble sound of "vive l'Empereuer."[52]

The misery of defeat also takes Napoleon himself in a song 'Bonaparte's lament in his exile', where Napoleon, recalling the battle of Waterloo as 'When fortune's star, my doom, by war/ Resolv'd at Waterloo', becomes an object of pity.[53] On the other hand, the Battle of Waterloo and the British commander are not always described as an icon of British freedom. An historical account *Battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo*, for instance, is a mere account of the battles offering no interpretations on their meaning in terms of their political implications to Scotland and Britain.[54]

In the Scottish chapbooks before 1815, Napoleon is described as a tyrant with a haughty ambition to conquer Scotland as well as Britain, which could be

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[51] 'Fy let us a' to the Battle', p. 6 and 'Bonaparte will be here', p. 3.

[52] Anon., *The Battle of Waterloo Containing, the Duke of Wellington's dispatch to Earl Bathurst, also flight from Brussels; and a visit to the field of battle with a description of The bloody Engagement; and a visit to the French hospitals* (Edinburgh, n. d.), p. 24.

[53] Anon., *Six Scotch songs Bonaparte's lament in his exile, Green grows the rashes, O, Marry for love, and work for siller, Lovel Arran Maid,O'er the muir amang the heather, Maclean's welcome* (Glasgow, n. d.) The same printer published this song under a different title of 'The last breathings of Napoleon'.

[54] Anon., *Battles of Quatre Bras & Waterloo* (Edinburgh, 1828). The same printer published the biography of Napoleon in a similar style, in which while the war is interpreted as Britain's victory over Napoleon who once assumed 'the lofty power of regulating and creating dynasties', he was 'the most celebrated soldier and conqueror' and 'one of those extraordinarily gifted individuals, who falling into a period and course of circumstances adapted their peculiar genius, exhibit the capacity of human nature in the highest point of view'. See, Anon., *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte* (Edinburgh, 1828). On the other hand, there are some attempts to celebrate Wellington as the liberator (cf 'Wellington's address').

regarded as a powerful tool to construct the sense of 'otherness' in contrast to Scottish 'selfhood' within the British state. Apart from constructing this type of 'otherness' providing Scottish loyalism with an effective vocabulary, the content of anti-Napoleonic chapbooks also indicates that Scotland had now became an inseparable partner in the enterprise of building the British Empire with the other three nations: however far from the French coast, the threat of invasion was as imminent as in the Southern English coast, and so concerned the Scots' chapbook reading public. This sense of urgency - if much exaggerated - played a vital role in the loyalist chapbooks, which are discussed in the next section.

5

Until recently, historians tend to study radicalism and popular disturbances as a prime motive for the political activity of the ordinary people.[55] Historians such as Harry Dickinson, Linda Colley and Emma Vincent MacLeod find that there was a strong interest among the populace in loyalism and the monarchy, though their opinion of its concurrence to a distinct and firm nationalism seems varied.[56] In particular, Colley's study of the Voluntary Force demonstrates the extent of participation in terms of both social groups involved and mobilised within the British

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[55] This issue is analysed extensively in chapter seven.
[56] Colley, *Britons*, pp. 297-327, E. V. Macleod, *A War of ideas British Attitudes to the Wars against Revolutionary France, 1792-1802* (Ashgate, 1998), esp. pp. 65-89 and 179-99, Dickinson, *British Radicalism and the French Revolution*, pp. 44, 62 and 64, and idem., *The Politics of the People in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 1994) pp.255-56, 265, 267 and 284.

context.[57] Moreover, though O' Ciosain's survey of Irish chapbooks show that conservative chapbooks such as Hannah More's *Villages Politics* were targeted at and consumed among solely the middling sorts, the existence of a large body of loyalist chapbooks indicates that in Scotland at least language of loyalty and a patriotic expression was available to the Scottish reading public, and this possibly includes the lower orders.[58] Admittedly, these chapbooks were possibly part of government-sponsored propaganda, and motivations behind joining the Voluntary Force were not purely spontaneous expression of patriotism for the sake of preserving their nation and the monarch. Indeed, as Dickinson points out, because of its very nature of affirming and maintaining the *status quo*, it is difficult to express and construct spontaneity within loyalist language.[59] On the other hand, this does not deny the dismissal of these chapbooks as the manufacture of elite exhortation to mobilise the populace to fight against their so-called mortal foe, France. One point which should be taken to account of is that unlike other British imperial enterprises, the Militia or the Volunteers were directly related to the defence of their own soil, and at least up until 1805 when the threat of French invasion might not be entirely 'pie-in-the-sky' among the contemporary mind.[60] In this context, it is possible to see that there was a spontaneous reaction of some sort to the call for mobilisation. The landing of the French expeditionary force in Wales in 1797, the efforts of the United Scotsmen and Irishmen to ask France to send such a force and the French military strength were 'real' enough for the contemporaries, and it is this historical context that should be taken seriously when reading the Scottish loyalist chapbooks.

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[57] Colley, *Britons*, p. 309.
[58] Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture*, pp. 148-49.
[59] Dickinson, *The Politics of the People*, p. 284.

Scottish loyalist chapbooks can be categorised into four main themes: the military prowess of the Volunteers and militia, the defence of liberty and law, praise of British heroes and of the monarchy. Among songs concerned with the Volunteers and militia, 'The Perth Volunteers in Brigade' articulated the reasons for joining in the force which was two fold.[61] Firstly, the French invasion was believed to lead to the ravaging of their native land:

> For plunder is a that their wanten,
> The Ground the're to fight on's our ain:
> They have nothing to lose tho' their beaten,
> Tho' we ha' got a' thing to gain:
> They would plunder our Lawns & our Cities
> And Ravish our Sweethearts and Wives;
> And our Sons, who perhaps may surviveus,
> Wou'd be naething else but French slaves
> Then Fy! Let us, &c.[62]

This bleak prospect of French occupation is similar to the situation among conquered European nations depicted in 'The French Fleet Dismantled or Bonaparte's Ramble to the Rhine': a total enslavement of Britain awaits unless people with 'a true heart' join in the Volunteers. Their cause is further expanded from a mere defence of their native Scotland or Perth to the symbols of Britain in the following stanza:

> Now Britons as one are united
> To fight for the Glorious Cause
> And resolved that a Corsican Tyrant
> To Britons shall never give Laws.
> Our King, and our Princes, and Nobles;
> Our Commons, Militia, and Yeomen,
> And our Volunteers a' in a row.
> Then Fy! Let us, &c.[63]

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[60] Colley, *Britons*, pp. 323-24, and Macleod, *A war of ideas*, p. 79.
[61] 'The Perth Volunteers in Brigade' in *John Bull's Answer*.
[62] Ibid., p. 4.
[63] Ibid., p. 4. The image of a faithful guard of law and liberty is also symbolised by a fighting bard:
Minstrel fell!—but the foeman's chain
Could not bring his proud soul under,
The harp he lov'd ne'er spoke again,
For he tore its cords asunder;
And said, "No chains shall sully thee,
"Thou soul of love and bravery!
"Thy songs we're made for the pure and free

This interpretation of Britain's war against Napoleonic France as the war against tyranny is also found in 'the British Volunteers' allegedly written by Robert Burns (plate 4-2)[64], although the final sentence in this stanza arguably reveals the author's political creed to some extent:

> The wretch that would a TYRANT own,
> And th' wretch his true-sworn brother,
> Who's set the MOB aboon the THRONE,
> Who will not sing, GOD SAVE THE KING,
> Shall hang as high's the steeple,
> But while we sing, GOD SAVE THE KING,
> We'll ne'er FORGET the PEOPLE.[65]

Other chapbooks, on the other hand, employ very different tactics for persuading people to join into military service. For instance, a song 'How happy the soldier' sees its advantage in the salary given by the Government, which could be regarded as a counter argument against the voice of protest to join in the Militia due to economic loss:

> How happy the soldier who lives on his pay,
> And spend half a crown out of sixpence a day,
> Yet years neither justice, warrants, or burns,
> But pays all his debts with roll of his drums,
> With row de dow, row de dow, row de dow, dow;

"They shall never sound in slavery."
(cf. 'The warrior bard' in, Anon. *MOLLY O'RIGGE. Sit ye a while and tipple a bit. The Delights of wine. Caledonia! Native Land! The Warrior Bard. Beadle of the Parish.* (Glasgow, n. d.), p. 7.)

[64] Interestingly, Burns's original title seems to have differed from this one. According to an anthology of Bruns's poetical works The song is called 'The Dumfries Volunteers'. See, *The poetical works of Robert Burns* (London, 1994 ed), p. 467.

[65] *The British Volunteers To which are added God save the King, Mally Bahn, Tippling John Johny Faa, the Gypsie Laddie* (n. p., n. d.), p. 3. Interestingly, there is a song which is obviously 'influenced' by 'The British Volunteers' but differs in some wording:
Wha winna sing God save our King!
Should hing as high's a steeple;
But whilst God save our King we sing,
Let's say God bless the People. (cf. 'A patriotic song' in *Bonaparte's Garland*, p. 6.)
There are also several songs similar to the one above in their language of the nation and tyrant. See, Anon., *The Volunteer Boys, to which are added I wou'd if it was not young, The narrow escape of Murphy Delany, A favourite hunting song, the naval heroes, the blush and the soccer laddie* (Glasgow, 1801), and Anon., *Three Excellent New Songs; Called The Irish wedding, The wee wifukie or, this is no me. New song in Praise of his majesty's Forces* (Aberdeen, n. d.). The politics of Burns, which is rather a complicated issue, is discussed below in this chapter.

And he pays all his debts with the roll of his drums.[66]

Furthermore, people were not necessarily willing to join in the military service which is eminent in 'A new Song in favour of our Militia', though this unwillingness did not deny their loyalty to the nation and their king:

I wish the Disposer
Of all things unto us
Would bring this sad war,
And conclude it to an end,
That we may return all safely home,
With our friends once more to join,
With love and peace be with us all,
And long live our King.[67]

While some loyalist chapbooks urge readers to join with either the Volunteers or the Militia, other chapbooks are more focused on defining 'self' and 'otherness' in conjunction to the land of freedom and despotism, which is represented by Scottish (and indeed Highland) landscape, like in a song 'Auld Scotia Free':

Nae slave shall tread thy highland hills,
Frae galling bondage thou art free;
Nae Tyrant e'er shall rule thy shores
But Scotia thou'lt be ever free.

Tho' foreign monarchs rage and try
To conquer and defeat thy fame,
Thy sons can boldly rise and will
Their laws and libertys maintain.[68]

There is a significant difference, then, between these loyalist chapbooks and those

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[66] Anon., *The old man out witted or the fortune lovers. To which are added, Thro' the wood laddie, How happy the soldier, The marriage act, Friendship's a jewel* (Glasgow, 1804), p. 7. MacLeod, *A war of ideas*, pp. 183-84.

[67] 'A New Song, in favour of our Militia' in *A Patriotic song, or Bonaparte will be here*, and Macleod, *A war of ideas*, pp. 195-96.

[68] Anon. *A New Song Called Auld Scotia Free. To which are added. O Helen thou art my darling, The lovely lass of Allan-down, Will ye go to the ewe bughts and a Lamentation for the death of the Brave Mc Kay* (Airdrie, n. d.), p. 3. This notion of Scotland as free and lawful nation was also symbolised in the movement to build the National Monument in Edinburgh. The Duke of Athol's toast at a meeting for encouraging the public donation for the cause:
Remarked in the impossibility of enumerating all those who had eminently distinguished themselves in the service of their native land, but he hoped their names would yet be recorded to posterity on the monumental edifice to be erected to their memory. In the mean time it was pleasing to reflect, that Scotchmen were distinguished everywhere by their light-toned spirit, inflexible courage and invincible ardour in the cause of liberty, patriotism, and humanity! (Great applause)

which played homage to the Covenanters.[69] Whereas both chapbooks employ the formula of free and lawful 'Self' versus tyrannical 'Other', 'otherness' was defined completely differently. The dual nature of the notion of nation found in the former chapbooks (and to some extent, the same point could be found in those concerned with William Wallace) is simplified in the loyalist chapbooks and contained within the parameters of nation versus other nations. The attempt to equate Scotland and Britain with freedom and law also gave the Scottish loyalist chapbooks a means to justify the on-going war, which was eloquently articulated in the first stanza of the song 'Britons only conquer to save':

> When in war, on the ocean we meet the proud foe,
> Tho' with ardour for conquest our bosoms they glow
> Let us see on their vessels OLD ENGLAND'S FLAG wave
> They shall find British sailors but conquer to save,
> They shall find British sailors &c etc[70]

The justified cause of the Napoleonic war was executed by the British monarch and his military commanders. Both navy and army commanders as well as their military prowess were given a full eulogy because of their patriotic deeds: Nelson and Lord Duncan's naval victory were a mere part of this eulogy.[71] In particular, the account of Lord Duncan, the native hero from Scotland, was printed repeatedly since his victory in 1797. 'Lord Duncan's Victory' demonstrates how Scottish loyalism tries to see Scot-British relationship in time of 'national' crisis while its emphasis is also placed on the unity of the Scottish nation though the praise of 'our bauld Highland Laddie'.[72]

(*Edinburgh Courant*, 29 May, 1819)

[69] See, chapter three for the discussion of the concept of nationhood in the Covenanter chapbooks.

[70] Anon., *A new song of old sayings. To which are added. A touch of the terrific. Saw ye my wee thing. Britons only conquer to save. Caledonia looked down. An Irish drinking song. The yellow-haired laddie*. (Glasgow, 1809)

[71] Anon., *Nelson's Victory over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain. On the 21st of October, 1805*
To which is added The Tar Metamorphosed; or the Squire Tricked. (Glasgow, 1806)

[72] Anon., *Lord Duncan's Victory over the Dutch Fleet, Octr. 12th, 1797. To which are added,*

The second and third stanzas reveal the dual meaning of Lord Duncan's victory:

> Nae mair need we sigh whan we reckon
> An think on the days o' langsyne,
> Wi' laurel o' valour did shyne:
> For DUNCAN, a true SCOTTISH CALLAN,
> Wha lang had been thirsting for fame,
> Has yerkit our daes in a toolie,
> And prov'd himsell wordy the name.
>
> Chorus
>
> While BRITONS prove true to each other,
> They're VICTORS by land and by sea,
> FOR BRITAIN was never yet conquer'd,
> And we trust that she never will be,[73]

Loyalty and their determination to defend Scotland and Britain is personified as George III (and to some extent George IV) in chapbooks, who became the symbol of Britishness as well as the defender of civil liberty and law with a phrase such as 'May he defend our laws/ And ever gives us cause'.[74] One of the main features of

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The girl I left behind me with the answer. The shepherd outwitted (Glasgow, 1806), p.4:
Yes! We ha'e our bauld Highland Laddies,
Wi' bonnets set briskly a-jee,
Wha's love for their country's sae hestit,
Before they forske her they'll die,
Look around here! In ilka SCOTCH bosom,
A flame for Auld SCOTIA does burn;
A flame which nae dastardly traitor,
Nor dangers nor death can o'er turn!

[73] Ibid., p. 2.

[74] Anon., *The Jolly Ringers; To which are added, Jockey and Jenny's Trip to the Fairs, A New God Save the King, A New Song The Sailor's Return* (Stirling, 1805). There is also another print from a different area. As for Britannia, see for example, Anon., *The twa weavers The minstrel boy. Canadian boat song. Gaily still the moments roll. Tho' you leave me now in sorrow. The year that's awa'. I gaed a waefu' gate yestreen. Rule Britannia* (Glasgow, n. d.), p. 8:
When Britain first at Heaven's command,
Arose from out the azure main,
This was the charter of the land,
And guardian angels sung this strain;
Rule Britannia, Britannia, rule the waves,
Britons never shall be slaves.
A similar note, yet stronger anti-French and anti-Napoleon feeling is found in Anon., 'The true Briton's resolution to conquer or die':
Shall Frenchmen rule o'er us?—the free sons of the waves?
Shall Britain be ruled by a nation of slave?
Shall the Corsican Tyrant, who bound on their chain?
Govern us in the room of our good King who reign?
Hearts of Oak &c (p. 2.)
Linda Colley argues that the transformation of George III's image from the object of caricature,

Scottish/British loyalism in Scottish was its flexibility in adopting various and often conflicting patriotic discourses and symbols which were already familiar to their readers, and to then re-order them for its purpose, which has been demonstrated by loyalism's adoption of the dialectics of the nation and of tyranny. The same point could be argued with the Jacobite symbol of Hearts of Oak: once a song to praise the Jacobite cause, then used to praise of the Hanoverian dynasty:

> We boast of true freedom, & love George our King,
> Our Laws and our Country we ever will sing;
> All Despots despising, who govern so basely,[75]

These arguments and images used in Scottish loyalist chapbooks - the dialectics of the nation and tyranny, Britain and civil liberty, the valour of British military force represented by wartime heroes and George III as the symbol of Britishness - seem to have a striking similarity with English loyalist chapbooks such as those tracts of Vocal Repository, though the latter was more obvious about its loyalist intention. For instance, A song 'God save the King' in the latter's collection is more concerned with their attempt to advocate the *status quo* by offering a paternalistic image of society in which 'Law protect the injur'd poor/ And punishes the wicked great' (plate

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especially in London, to the personification of British nationhood—the land of liberty and law—along with Britannia started in the 1780s, and accelerated after 1793 coinciding with the war against despotic France. See, her 'The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation 1760-1820', *P&P* 102 (1989?)

[75] Anon., *Hearts of oak for ever: or, A round of British tars. To which are added, The jolly farmer. A song in praise of Admiral Duncan. The taylor's downfal. Britain's alarm. Arrived at Portsmouth* (Glasgow, 1801), p. 2. The Jacobite use of the Hearts of Oak is found, found in a song 'The royal oak tree', which was probably printed in 1772:

ye true sons of Scotia together unite,
And yield all your sense to joy and delight;
Give mirth its full scope, that the nations may see
We honour our standard, the great Royal Tree

All shall yield to the Royal Oak Tree:
Bend to thee!
Chearful was He, who sat in thee.
And thou, like him, thrice honour'd shall be. (Quoted in A. Lang, 'Jacobite Songs', *SHR*, 8 (1911), p. 133.

4-3).[76] The image of national harmony (the Highlands and the Lowlands) in the Scottish loyalist chapbooks are replaced with social accordance achieved through tenacious maintenance of law and order which assure liberty in these English loyalist/ conservative chapbooks.[77] Nevertheless, as Colley argues, military loyalism, thanks to its flexibility to adopt various symbols and discourses for its own end, enabled it to offer a strong base for asserting Brtishness.[78] Meanwhile this Britishness was adopted in Scotland in order to make two identities compatible, in loyalist discourse, loyalty to Scotland directly meant loyalty to Britain through their common platform of the notion of liberty and the adapted dialectics of the nation and tyranny. Because both nations Scotland and Britain are the land of freedom, and because both nations are vehemently against tyrannical despotic rule, in this case nearly posed by a foreign nation, loyalty to both nations could be converged into one. This convergence of patriotism, on the one hand, enabled Scottishness to share the history of the land of freedom, and to adopt outwardly foreign historical concepts which once had been a part of English historical heritage. This questionable understanding of British as well Scottish histories is discussed in the following section.

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[76] 'God save the king' in J. Pitts, *The Voice of the NATION; a collection of patriotic songs* (London, n. d.), p.6:
With equal laws our rights to guard,
The rich and poor together meet;
For Law protest the injur'd poor,
And punhishes the wicked great;
It guards the palace of the rich
From robbers and banditti,
And makes the Cottage of the poor
Strong as the walled City.

[77] This point will be further discussed in chapter seven. There are some Scottish songs concerned with social unity such as 'Come all ye social powers'.

There are some common narrative patterns among the Scottish loyalist chapbooks. Generally, Scottish 'national' history is foremost, and used to provide evidence upon the authenticity of the Scottish native concept of liberty. In turn, such 'national' history is also 'regulated' within the framework of dual national identities: although the concept of liberty is Scottish, it is British as well. This was achieved by emphasising that Scotland had never been completely conquered by any other nation (here there is no mention of the Scots' struggle with the English), and by commemorating the heroic deeds of William Wallace and to some extent Robert Bruce, and of the recently 'discovered' Ossianic tradition. The concept of Scotland being the land of freedom also enabled the picture of geographically and to some extent ethnically unified Scotland to be drawn: the mountainous landscape covered with heather became the historically attested home for a reader of these chapbooks.

Such historical authentication of Scottish liberty within British context also made Scottish history share some historical concepts with English history, to be part of British history. It was this context in which the English concept of 'Norman Yoke' came to be shared by the Scots. On the other hand, the distinctive Scottish landscape kept the notion of Scotland free from complete absorption into Britishness. Paradoxically, Scottishness could assert its distinctive identity, only after it became a part of Britain. Through this process of sharing its past and distinguishing two identities, Scottishness as it was constructed in loyalist chapbooks was firmly anchored in the British context.

This was also found in the advertisement of the centenary anniversary of

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[78] Colley, *Britons*, *passim*.

Union in 1807, and to some extent, in the Royal Visit in 1822, although in the latter case, Scottishness was used in a different manner for a different purpose.[79] Here, a song 'The Harp of Old Ossian: or Caledonia Triumphant' demonstrates an interesting mixture of the different threads of historical tradition arranged by a plot within which Scotland and indeed Britain's freedom was at stake. The first two stanzas depict the French threat and the Scottish militaristic tradition:

> We sons of Old Scotia, with hearts true as steel,
> Enraptur'd, or Ancestors' spirit we feel.
> Rising equal to danger, thus boldly we dare
> Bid the Corsican Tyrant of us to beware.
> For tho' Gallia submits to his haughty decree,
> For tho' Gallia submits etc.
>
> Fingal, with his Heroes, set bound'ries to Rome,
> And their gallanst Successors were ne'er overcome;
> The Danes & fierce Saxons with broad swords & shields,
> Were conquer'd in thousands, and died on our fields,
> And when Europe submissive obey'd their decree,
> Caledonia was valiant, unconquer'd and free.
> And when Europe submissive, etc.[80]

These two stanzas include several interesting points. Firstly, the song tries to make a distinction between Corsica and France, by presenting a picture of subdued Gallia to Corsican Napoleon emphasising a peripheral background of Napoleon. Secondly, their *quasi* Celtic military tradition represented by Fingal and his descendants was boasted without doing any harm to their present partner England through their enemy defined as the Danes and Saxons. This was probably used to counter the English 'myth' of Norman Yoke in order to assure that Scotland also had the mythic and

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[79] Anon., *Carle now the King's come; composed on the occasion of his majesty, King George IV's Visit to Scotland, In August, 1822. In two parts* (Stirling, 1822) is an example of this regard by juxtaposing 'Forty twa' (the royal regiment) and 'canty Celts'. On the other hand, despite of the song's emphasis on unity and harmony in geographical, political and social sense, the lower echelons of society were hardly mention in the song apart from 'mason'. Furthermore, the song does not boast of the ancient Scottish liberty. As for the full account of George IV's visit to Scotland, see J. Prebble, *King's Jaunt* (London, 1988).

[80] Anon., *The Harp of Old Ossian; or Caledonia Triumphant. To which are added, The resolute lady; or Fortunate Footman, and The Rock and a wee Pickle Tow* (Glasgow, 1803), p. 2.

ancient history of fighting against tyranny and barbarity. Thirdly, Caledonia once used by anti-Unionists became a symbol of historically unconquered Scotland.[81] The motivation for this rather overly careful handling of Scotland's pre-Union past - efforts to present an unconquered nation being compatible with the British present - becomes clear in the third stanza:

> Now united with England, our int'erests are join'd,
> And from Caithness to Cornwall our strength is combin'd,
> All equally Britons, all equally brave,
> All detecting the Tyrant that dares to enslave,
> Thus runs our new Charter, by Heav'n's high decree,
> Britannia shall conquer, and Britons be free.
> Thus runs our new Charter, etc.[82]

Scottish military prowess became a part of the British military force in the present political arrangement which would become a liberating force from foreign tyrannical rule, and in this context William Wallace and Robert Bruce as well as Scotland's Celtic past became part of Britain's historical heritage, as found in fifth and sixth stanzas:

> Like the comet's bright blaze, thro' the dark clour'd sky,
> See the spirits of Wallace and Bruce from on high;
> They bend o'er the fields of their fame with a smile,
> And say, "Sons, guard your freedom, defend your blest
> And true to yourselves, bold & firm, as we see,
> And true to yourselves, etc.
>
> Caledonians, dear Comrades on Glotta's green banks!
> Be the foremost in danger, the first in the ranks;
> Let the fame of your valour thro' Morven refound,
> That the Harp of Old Ossian may joy in the sound:
> Defend our fam'd Island, the Queen of the Sea,
> Let Britannia still triumph, and always be free.
> Defend or fam'd Island, etc.[83]

Thus, indigenous Scottish mythological and historical icons such as Fingal, Wallace and Bruce became available within the British historical context through the common

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[81] For instance, see Lord Belhaven's famous speech on the Union of 1707. (c. f., J. Robertson, 'Andrew Fletcher's Vision of Union', in Mason, *Scotland and England*, p. 212.
[82] 'The Harp of Old Ossian', p. 2.
[83] Ibid., p. 3.

history of defending freedom from tyranny. On the other hand, it was this merging of Scottish icons into British history that made it possible for the Scots to assert their distinctively and historically constructed nationhood.[84]

This flexibility in British history found amongst the loyalist chapbooks also introduces the English historical memory of the Norman Yoke and their victory against France.[85] For instance, a song 'The Snug little island' begins with the history of that 'Dane, Pict and Saxon' which did not yield to Julias Caesar 'all for the sake of our island'.[86] However, their little island and King Harold were lost to the Normans:

> Then a very great war-man called Billy the Norman,
> Cried damn it, I nevr lik'd my land,
> It would be much more handy to leave this Normandy,
> And live on yon beautiful island:
> Says he, 'tis a snug little island,
> Shan't us go visit the island.[87]

And 'Like a Briton he died for his island'. This memory was succeeded by the victorious one of 'queen Bess' who defended the little island from the Spanish Armada with the help of 'the lads of the island/ the good wooden walls of the island'. An Anglo-centric construction of a British historical memory in Scottish loyalist chapbooks generally took this pattern: the myth of Norman Yoke (though it is noteworthy that King Harold became a 'Briton' here) and Queen Bess.[88] The English

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[84] For instance, see 'The lily of France' in Anon., *Seven Popular Songs The Lily of France. Blue Bonnet over the Border. The Light of other days. When bless'd with love and you. Judy Magrath. The bloom is on the rye. Rory O'More* (Glasgow, n. d.), p.6:
'Twas the badge our fathers triumphantly wore,
When they follow'd their sovereigns to vanquish the Dane;
The emblem in battle our Wallace aye bore,
Then the thistle of Scotland must dearest remain.
To Scotia her thistle, &c

[85] As for the theory of Norman Yoke in English historiography, see Christopher Hill's article. C. Hill, 'The Norman Yoke' in *Puritanism and Revolution Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th century* (London, 1986 ed.)

[86] Anon., *The Old Hulk laid up, or, the New Way of Tom Tough; to which are added, the Snug Little Island, The Highland Quean, The Jovial Widower* (Stirling, 1805), p. 3.

[87] Ibid., p. 4.

[88] Other examples in this regard are found in Anon., *The Chapter of Kings and Admirals; To which*

victory over France during the Hundred Years War is also exploited to fortify British people's confidence on fighting against France, as found in 'Britain's alarm':

> Remember what hosts of these Frenchmen did yield
> At Cressy, at Poitiers, and Agincourt's field;
> And shall we now suffer their vain gasconade?
> Or shall they unpunish'd, Great Britain invade?
> Britons, arms and unite! Etc.

Thus, the Scottish loyalist chapbooks allowed the historical memories of two nations to be shared as British history through the notion of liberty and with military prowess acting as an intermediary. Like the transformation of the Jacobites and the Highlands, these historical icons became more flexible and universal, and would represent different identities at different situations.

This way of uniting nations to create another national identity which supersedes individual member nations is also found in the Festival of the Union which took place in 1807 to celebrate the centenary of the Union of 1807. It is advertised that the rooms for the fete are decorated with 'Laurel, Olive and Oak' as well as the 'proper Emblems of the George, St Patrick, and St Andrew', and the orchestras were to play 'alternately English, Irish and Scottish Music, and in the National Airs of "Rule Britannia", "Hearts of Oak", "Briton strike home", and "God save the King"'.[89] The advertisement also reveals how the hosts of the event saw and interpret historical meaning of the Union:

> "The experience of century of increasing prosperity supersedes any eulogium on the firmness and political sagacity of the men who planned and accomplished the UNION. The

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are added, Up in the Morning Early, The Man of Aberdeen (Stirling, 1806) and 'The True Briton's resolution to conquer or die'. While the former song is an attempt to summarise the dynastic history of England up to George III with humorous undertone, the latter is more to do with evoking Britons' collective memory of fighting against France:
Shall Frenchmen rule o'er us?—K. Edward said, No!
And No! said King Harry; & and Queen Bess she said, No!
And No! said Old England;--and No! she says still
They shall never rule us; let them try if they will.

[89] *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 30 April 1807 and 9 May 1807.

> pride of national Independence has been cheaply exchanged for opulence and security; and the mind contemplates with satisfaction prejudices obliterated, the spirit of rivalship extinguished, and cordiality and confidence taking place of the rancour of hostility and mutual aggression. *Divided*, Great Britain might have fallen a prey to her more powerful neighbours; *United*, she holds a high and dignified place among the nations, and bids defiance to the threats and extereminating designs of the half of Europe" - *Abridge of the History of Scotland.*[90]

It is difficult to measure to what extent this kind of historical understanding of the Union had permeated society. Indeed, this event presumably was targeted at the City's affluent bourgeoisie due to the five-shilling entrance fee. There was apparently a voice disapproving of the judgement that 'The pride of national Independence has been cheaply exchanged for opulence and security', as found in the repeated publication of Allan Ramsay's *The Tale of Three Bonnets* and other songs in a chapbook format.[91] However, even this outstandingly pro-Unionist interpretation of the Union of 1707 does not admit the supremacy of one nation over other member nations: 'divided' Britain can not stand up to other countries' invasion. Nor does the advertisement call for merging various national identities into one single British identity. Rather, this newly created British identity is placed above these national identities in this case.

Furthermore, because of the emergence of Britishness in which once conflicting historical icons could be freely swapped under a certain set of regulations, Scottishness distinguished itself from Britishness within the framework of the British Empire. Sharing a historical memory does not indicate the total merge of two national memories. Various rather sentimental songs illustrate well Scottishness drawing upon a thin but clear distinction from Britishness:

> The lassies of Scotland are bonny and free,
> The maidens of Erin are fair.

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[90] Quoted in *The Edinburgh Courant*, 9 May 1807.
[91] See section six in this chapter for further discussion.

The sweet girls of Britain are lovely to see,
And let them deny it who dare;
But the fairest of lassies
That all those surpasses,
Is Jeannie, the Maid of the Moor,
Is Jeannie, lovely Jeannie, the maid of the Moor.[92]

On the other hand, the process of creating and setting a map of Britain and four nations was far from completion. The songs above were probably printed in the mid-nineteenth century, and even in the height of the Napoleonic War, apparently there was a voice of dissension against boasting too much aboutBritish unity, a theme to be discussed in the next section.

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Despite the proliferation of loyalist chapbooks in Scotland, it is impossible to ignore the existence of a substantial amount of chapbooks expressing their discontent against the *status quo*. This voice of dissatisfaction is varied, from the Highland regiment's mutiny in the 1780s to their dissatisfaction with the British present. 'The Athol Highlanders' is a good example concerned with the former issue, while 'The Thistle and Rose' clearly raise a voice expressing their dissatisfaction with the present political arrangement. 'The Athol Highlanders', however, is a interesting mixture of the voice of dissent against the proposed move to India and the praise of George III, which is interspersed with their memory of the last Jacobite rebellion:

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[92] Anon., *Seven of the most popular songs. The Bridal ring. What are you going to stand. The lassies of Scotland. The MacGregor's gathering. Farewell to the mountain. The banks of the blue Mozelle. 'Tas merry in the hall* (Glasgow, n. d.), p. 4. Other examples are found in 'The Lily of France', 'Scotland yet' in Anon., *Six popular songs. Alice Gray. England, Europe's glory. A light heart & thin pair of breeches. The braes of busbie. Waes me for Prince Charlie. Scotland yet* (Glasgow, n. d.) and 'Caledonia! Native Land!'.

To the East-Indies we were sold,
By M—y for a bag of gold,
But listen a while, and I will unfold,
How we did blast his glory.[93]

This strong and strident voice of opposition concludes with the line 'God bless our own king Geordie', indicating their mutiny was not targeted at the British monarch at least outwardly.[94]

'The Thistle and Rose' expresses a deep regret on the Union. In a song, the thistle was suggested to unite with the Rose by the latter on a sunny day. Although, initially, the thistle opposed the idea because '...My spears/ defends morals and fears/ Whilst thou'rt unguarded on the plain', the thistle was succumbed to the rose's persuasion 'You would take so much pleasure/ in Beauty's vast treasure' in the end.[95] The euphoria of the thistle was withered by the arrival of the winter, and the song ends with the thistle's lamentation:

But now I'm the mock
of Flora's fair stock,
Nor dare I presume to complain;
But remember that I
disasterly cry
O were I a Thistle again!
but remember that I, &c.[96]

Although the song apparently raises the voice against the Union, this voice of dissatisfaction is projected to the loss of an independent nationhood, which is similar to *The Tale of Three Bonnets*, and Burns's 'Fareweel to a' our Scottish fame'. Their voice is retrospective which does not indicate the desire of nationalism aiming at the

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[93] Anon., *Six Excellent New Songs viz The Athol Highlanders. O that the Wars were all Over. The Maidens Health. For the Lack of Gold, &c. Advice to Maidens. The Jovial Huntsmen* (Falkirk, 1783), p. 2. As for the full account of the Atholl Highlanders' mutiny, see J. Prebble, *Mutiny Highland Regiments in Revolt 1743-1804* (Middlesex, 1985), pp. 211-59, esp., pp. 225-56.
[94] Ibid., p. 4.
[95] Anon., *Three Excellent New Songs. I The MAID going to sell her BARLEY. II The TISTLE and ROSE. III WOMAN is a TRIFLE* (n. p., n. d.).
[96] Ibid.,

re-establishment of the nation-state.[97]

It is possible to read these chapbooks in the context of the emergence of the most popular poet in Scotland: Robert Burns. The politics of Robert Burns is a complicated issue: his political creed at least ostentatiously changed from one end of the spectrum being a self-proclaimed Whig to the other end, by joining in the Volunteers and writing songs articulating a pro-Jacobite sentiment such as 'Charlie is my Darling'.[98] This complexity, on the other hand, could be understood as the sway experienced and shared by other Scottish people. Such voices of dissatisfaction can also be understood as a declaration of protest against the forces of assimilating the Scottish past into the British past. But this did not conflict with the maintenance of the British state. Robert Burns, and possibly others like him might have been ardent Unionists, in the sense that they knew the independence of distinctive Scottishness hinged upon the fate of the British Empire. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that Burns believed in the supremacy of 'British cultural nationalism' as partly found in Scottish loyalist chapbooks already examined. Colley's, MacLeod's and Dickinson's 'popular' loyalism in Scotland certainly existed or was certainly available among the readers of these chapbooks taking a form of discourse that Christopher Smout labelled concentric nationalism, especially at the height of the threat of Napoleonic invasion. This culture of British patriotism of which the main aim could be converged with that of Scottish patriotism was nurtured and supported by the

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[97] Fraser, *Popular Politics*, p. 11.

[98] Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song*, pp. 72-89, M. Butler, 'Burns and Politics', in R. Crawford (ed.), *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority* (Edinburgh, 1997), D. G. Baxter, 'Robert Burns and the politics of the French Revolution in Scotland', *Scottish Tradition*, xv (1989), and A. Noble, 'Burns and Scottish Nationalism' in K. Simpson (ed.), *Burns now* (Edinburgh, 1994).

Scottish political system, if reluctantly.[99] However, the tidal wave of British patriotism and Scottish patriotism adjacent to it alarmed Robert Burns and other likeminded people. Their counter-strategy was to use the language of Jacobitism and indigenous Scottish historical icons such as Wallace and Bruce (as in 'Scots Wha Hae') but in a universalist sense. At the bottom of this universalism, present in these chapbooks and songs, is again the transformation of these native Scottish icons as a symbol of freedom. These transformed icons would not, on the one hand, conflict with the British political framework (which would explain why Lancashire weavers sung 'Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled' in the 1840s), on the other hand, they would assert the authenticity of the native value of freedom refuting that it be absorbed into a singularly British idea of liberty.

8

While Colley's thesis on British loyalism needs some qualification because of her eagerness to argue for its significance in the everyday life of the British populace, these Scottish chapbooks suggest the availability of a loyalist vocabulary to chapbook readers who would probably belong to both the middle and lower strata of society. However, an argument that such a loyalism present in these chapbooks is an autonomous expression of patriotism emitted from these people is a different issue, and needs further study, while the received wisdom of historians emphasising state coercion and repression against the 'nation' should not be taken at its face value. This co-existence of conflicting opinions was probably due to one of the practical

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[99] Colley, *Britons*, pp. 336-37.

features of chapbooks. Because of cheap production costs and consequent facility of production, chapbook printing could not be dominated by one particular printer imposing a particular brand of political creed. This would indeed encourage the juxtaposition of unlikely ideologies in the chapbook market.

A more fundamental point here is that the focus of nation or a dialectical expression of the nation versus tyranny began to be fixed within the framework of nation versus other nations. This transformed the dialectics and the notion of nation, which could not be opposed over, if outwardly, by political reformers. The strength of loyalism lies in that it developed its ideological force based on the common language of freedom and tyranny as its antithesis. Loyalism adopted this notion for the sake of its own political end: uniting nations under the name of Britain in order to mobilise these nations against their common enemy. And this is the point where the British state had to accept its force.[100] In this adoption of the language of freedom and tyranny, Scottish loyalism explored to find a position to preserve Scottish nationhood as well as encourage further participation in British enterprise. This adoptability and flexibility of Scottish loyalism is not found in for instance chapbooks on the Scottish covenanters, which might partly explain the reason for the withering of the Covenanting tradition in the construction of Scottish nationhood. While Wallace and Bruce could be used in both loyalist and radical discourses because of their adoptability with a great contribution from Robert Burns, Scottish covenanters did not seemingly possess such an adaptability.

So far, the construction of Scottish nationhood was examined from the perspective of the interaction between popular tradition and its use among middle

and lower strata of society. This leads to a question of how learned culture perceived this construction of Scottishness, which will be examined in the next two chapters. While chapter five will look at how Scottish historiography and literature constructed Scottish nationhood and an historical understanding of the Scottish nation, chapter 6 will reveal that this understanding of Scottish history and nationhood was institutionalised through the activity of the Royal Association for Promoting Fine Arts in Scotland.

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[100] Ibid., p. 337, and D. Eastwood, 'Patriotism and the English state in the 1790s', in Philp, *The French Revolution and British popular politics*, p. 147.

A

PATRIOTIC SONG,

OR

Bonaparte will be here.

Abſtracted from the Aberdeen Journal.

Tune,—Tillochgorum.

To which is added,

A New Song, in favour of our Militia.

Printed by and for A. Keith, Aberdeen.

Plate 4-1: The Coverpage of *A Petritic Song, or Bonaparte will be here*

Plate 4-2: The Coverpage of *The British Volunteers*

VOCAL REPOSITORY.

THE

VOICE of the NATION;

A COLLECTION OF

CHOICE PATRIOTIC SONGS.

PRINTED AND SOLD BY
J. PITTS,
NO. 14, GREAT SAINT-ANDREW-STREET, SEVEN DIALS:
AND
By all Booksellers, Newsmen, and Hawkers, in Town and Country.
Great Allowance made to Shopkeepers and Hawkers.
PRICE ONE PENNY.
Or, Six Shillings per Hundred.
ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.

Plate 4-3: The Coverpage of *The Voice of the Nation*

Chapter 5
The concept of Scottishness in the nineteenth-century Scottish historiography*

1

Thus far we have been examining how Scottish nationhood was constructed through the historical narratives contained in chapbooks. Its purpose was to show how the image of the Scottish nation was used by both ends of the political spectrum. The first chapter presented chapbooks not as the possession or the representation of a particular social group which was bound by a coherent and monolithic socio-political view, often labelled as the populace, but as the mirror as well as the constituent of the social 'reality' of the day, that is, the mingling of various social strata as well as political views. In other words, Scottish chapbooks of this period were a medium more malleable in terms of their readership and visions than the previous wisdom of Neuburg and others have suggested.[1]

Under such a theoretical premise, the three chapters which followed (chapters two to four) demonstrated that while each narrative construction of Scottishness in the chapbooks suggested that the image of nationhood was used for a particular end (often political) by a particular group, these images were often based on the dialectics of the nation versus tyranny. Thus, the stories of Wallace and Bruce became these heroes' own 'personal' struggle against the tyrants Edward I and II, rather than the Scottish nation's struggle for her freedom against the English nation (chapter two). Wallace and Bruce (to a less extent) were perceived and constructed

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* Materials in the sections two to four, six and eight in this chapter are partly drawn from my MPhil thesis 'The Union of 1707 in Scottish Historiography: c. 1800-1914' (Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of St Andrews, 1996).

[1] Chapter one.

as the succours to Scottish liberty and civility rather than the succours to the independent Scottish nation-state within these chapbooks. This particular manner of narrativising Wallace and Bruce, with help from Robert Burns, provided the Scottish radicals with icons which could assert the authenticity of Scottish nationhood through liberty and civility within the history of British nationhood as represented by the Norman Yoke, the Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights. This explains why Scottish radicals and the lower echelons of society did not resort to the republican movement, though there were a few notable exceptions. In their mind, the Scottish nation could - but did not have to - become either an independent nation-state under the auspices of republicanism or a province of England, providing that the reformed British nationhood at the centre of which freedom and civility were located was realised, and that such nationhood would not interfere with the rights and freedom of the Scottish nation. It was this context that disabled the stories of the late Covenanters and the suffering of presbyterianism from becoming the icons of dual nationhood (chapter three). These stories of national suffering were excessively and exclusively 'Scottish' in the sense that such stories did not envision a socially and geographically unified and harmonised Scottish nationhood. Furthermore, although these stories did not offer a Scottish nationhood which would directly oppose the idea of dual nationhood, its emphasise upon liberty and moral righteousness embodied by the presbyterian church did not build a common platform with British nationhood as symbolised by civil liberty.

Albeit that their usage seems to be the opposite from that of the Scottish radicals, the main theme of loyalist chapbooks demonstrates a striking similarity with the chapbooks on Wallace, Bruce and the Covenanters (chapter four). In these

loyalist chapbooks, Napoleon was described as a tyrannical usurper to both Scottish and British liberty, indicating that the narrative structure of these chapbooks hinged upon the dialectics of the nation versus tyranny. However, where the loyalist chapbooks differed from the radicals is the application of such dichotomy. While the radicals applied it to British (and Scottish in case of Covenant chapbooks) domestic politics, the loyalist chapbooks used the dichotomy in the context of British-Scottish nation versus other independent nations. This premise partly explains why the loyalist chapbooks placed their emphasis upon social and geographical unity and harmony of both Scotland and Britain.

Here, a question arises. To what extent, were the views of Scottish nationhood evinced among chapbooks prevalent throughout Scottish society, especially amongst the elite? How did they perceive of their version of Scottishness and for what purpose? As discussed above, the recent historiography of loyalism in Britain demonstrates that the populace showed their spontaneous interest in loyalism especially during the height of the Napoleonic war, while the state was rather reluctant to encourage such a political movement. This reluctance of the state and the governing classes of Britain explains how the British political establishment understood the meaning of loyalism amongst the populace: loyalism was coupled with radicalism. In other words, their uneasiness with popular loyalism was partly derived from their fear that through such loyalism would the populace demand their participation in British as well as Scottish domestic politics. And their fear was not entirely groundless. As was seen in chapter four, the song 'The British volunteers' ends with a clear reminder: 'while we sing, GOD SAVE THE KING, We'll ne'er FORGET the PEOPLE'.

If the Scottish elite had some fear of popular participation in domestic politics through their loyalist and patriotic expression, how did they construct Scottishness and for what purposes? This question will be answered in the next two chapters. While the current chapter places its focus on how the Scottish elite understood and narrativised a national history of Scotland, as represented by Sir Walter Scott and the nineteenth century historians such as Patrick Fraser Tytler and John Hill Burton, with a particular emphasis on their narrative construction of the Union of 1707, chapter six analyses how this vision of Scottishness was visualised and institutionalised through the activities of the Royal Association of Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland.

In this chapter, initially, Walter Scott's intellectual affiliation with 'philosophical' historians as well as his social background, especially regarding the issue of national identity, will be examined. This will be followed by an analysis of the *Waverley* novels and the prose works such as *The Letters of Malachi Malagrowther* and *The Tales of a Grandfather*. In doing so, how Scott's views on the Union, contained in his texts, were constructed and influenced by the context, is demonstrated. Furthermore, we will be examining Scott's contribution to Scottish historiography, especially his neutralisation and mythologising of the Scottish past. The inheritance of Scott was succeeded by various Scottish historians as well as mid-century Scottish nationalists. While Scott's particular emphasis upon historical authenticity and meticulous reading of historical evidence was to become the central tenet to the subsequent Scottish historiography through the writings of Tytler and Burton, Scott's protest against the proposed abolition of the Scottish banknotes in his essay *Malachi Malagrowther* was inherited by the members of the National Association of Vindication of Scottish Rights as a visible form of their political expression. For Scott and the mid-nineteenth century Scottish bourgeoisie, it was them who governed and controlled Scotland through their activities within voluntary

associations.[2] The historically particular political situation in Scotland, whereby *de-facto* autonomy left to the hands of the bourgeoisie by a non-centralised Westminster government, which did not show much interest in Scottish affairs apart from occasional attempts to intervene, enabled them to manage Scotland by themselves. It was in this political context that the vision of Scott and the mid-nineteenth century Scottish historiography was constructed.

2

While once the debate over Walter Scott's stance on Scottishness had been discussed within the dichotomy of Scottish nationalist and British unionist, recent studies undermine the premise of this debate itself: is such a dichotomy relevant to the nineteenth-century construction of Scottishness?[3] Another problem lies in that most studies tend to ignore the question of who was subscribed to Scott's creation of Scottish nationhood and for what purposes. As we have seen in the previous four chapters, the notion of nationhood was configured and re-configured according to its users and historical circumstances. And Scott's version of Scottishness seems to be no exception to this process of defining the meaning of nationhood. We will notice that one aspect of Scott's historical dialectic was derived from the widespread acceptance of the idea of 'North Britain' amongst the Scottish landed elite, and the paradoxical belief that patriotism could best be expressed through the incorporation of their native country within the British Empire.[4] Taking such a standpoint, this section is going to examine what formed Scott's views on the concept of Scottish nationhood with a particular emphasis on his intellectual background and socio-

[2] This point is further discussed in chapters six and seven.
[3] For a British unionist argument see H. Trevor-Roper, 'Sir Walter Scott and History' *The Listener*, 2212, (1971), p. 226, while P. H. Scott, *Walter Scott and Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1981) offers outright nationalist points of view. The recent revisionist views are found in C. Kidd, '*The strange Death of Scottish history* Revisited'.
[4] M. G. H. Pittock, 'Sott as Historiographer: the Case of *Waverley*' in J. H. Alexander and D. Hewitt (eds.), *Scott in Carnival* (Aberdeen, 1993).

cultural milieu.[5]

As Scott himself admitted, what formed his understanding of Scottish history was partly ascribed to his childhood experiences in the Borders, such as the tales of his relatives' experience in the battle of Culloden and the Border ballads:

> The local information which I conceive had some share in forming my future tastes and pursuits I derived from the old songs and tales which then formed the amusement of a retired country family. My grandmother in whose youth the old border depredations were matter of recent tradition used to tell me many a tale of Wat of Harden, Wight Willie of Aikwood, Jamie Tellfer of the fair Dodhead, and other heroes, merrymen all of the persuasion and calling of Robin Hood and Little John.[6]

These seeds of childhood experience later bore the fruits of literary works such as *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and the *Waverley* novels. Yet such works taking their themes from Scottish history were also supported by his intellectual background, especially through his contact with the ideas of the 'philosophical' historians of the Enlightenment.[7] Indeed, his learning from his mentors such as Baron David Hume, Dugald Stewart and Alexander Tytler during his university life in Edinburgh introduced Scott to the principle of progress, and which came to play a central role in the formation of his historical understanding.

The history of mankind, according to those historians and sociologists of the Enlightenment, is the record of irreversible and inevitable progress: progress in morality, modes of production, law and types of polity.[8] Those elements of human society are correlated. In a primitive society where people live as hunter-gatherers,

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[5] The middle class construction of English/Britishness through historiography is found in L. M. E. Goodlad, '"A middle class cut into two": historiography and Victorian national character', *ELH*, 67 (2000).

[6] Sir W. Scott, 'Memoirs' in D. Hewitt (ed.), *Scott on Himself, A Selection of the Autobiographical Writings of Sir Water Scott* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 13 and Ash, *Strange Death*, pp. 13-18.

[7] The seminal studies about the intellectual affiliation of Scott were found in Duncan Forbes' two articles. See, D. Forbes, 'The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott', *Cambridge Journal,* 7 (1953) and 'The Scientific Whiggism: Adam Smith and John Millar', *Cambridge Journal*, 7 (1954). His view is supported by Patrick Garside. See, P. Garside, 'Scott, the Romantic Past and the Nineteenth Century', *Review of English Studies*, 23 (1972) and also 'Scott and the "philosophical" Historians', *Journal of the History of Idea*, 36 (1975). More recently, Colin Kidd sees Scott as an inheritor of Enlightenment historians, in terms of continuity of Scott's historiography which damaged the ideological side of the Scottish native Whig historical tradition. See, Kidd, *Subverting Scotland.*

[8] D. Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment - Ideas of Scholarship on Early Modern History*(Edinburgh, 1993).

their nature is essentially barbarous and despotism is the type of government to be found. As the productive mode gradually develops into an agrarian one, the nature of human beings becomes more refined and the political style reaches the stage of feudalism. Feudal tyranny is replaced by constitutional monarchy which protects civil liberty. Under such a government, these 'civilised' people can enhance their production which is predominantly commercial, and this is the contemporary situation.[9] People live according to their environment though progress is the universal principle in this world, as Adam Smith argues.[10] Baron David Hume uses this determinism to explain the development of law. According to him, the law 'is the assemblage of those customs and regulations, which mankind, according to the state of society they are in, feel to be just or find to be convenient'.[11] This perspective of the universal nature of human beings in terms of progress can provide historians with the possibility of comparative methods of various parts of the world. Scott, for example, compares the feudal nature of the Scottish Highlands with the social structure of Afghanistan.[12]

How was the history of Scotland explained by conjectural historiography? The fundamental point is that the history of Scotland was interpreted according to the universal principle of progress which ultimately brings civil liberty to a society. In other words, it is possible to compare the situation of Scotland - to what extent she gained civil liberty - with other countries. Two consequences resulted from viewing Scottish history in these terms. Firstly, the backwardness of the pre-Union past was emphasised in their writing. For David Hume, the philosopher and historian, Scottish history before 1707 was 'little more than an interplay of feudal anarchy and religious bigotry'.[13] In his *History of England*, the political situation of medieval Scotland was

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[9] A. D. Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History*, (New Haven, 1985), P. 22 and Garside, 'Philosophical Historians', p. 502.
[10]Forbes, 'Scientific Whiggism', p. 648.
[11] Quoted in Garside, 'Philosophical Historians', p. 501.
[12] G. McMaster, *Scott and Society* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 66. As for feudalism, while some historians regard feudal society as indigenous feature in Europe, other find universal nature in the phenomenon.
[13] Fry, 'Whig Interpretation of Scottish History', p. 76.

described:

> ... the government of Scotland had been continually exposed to those factions and convulsions which are incident to all barbarous and to many civilised nations...[14]

The Scottish Reformation was, in Hume's view, initiated by John Knox, whose political principles 'were as full of sedition as his theological were of rage and bigotry'.[15] Two aspects of feudal society - tyrannical lords feuding with each other and a stagnant agrarian economy - were particularly highlighted; and progress beyond this, towards a commercial society, was attributed to the Union of 1707.[16] The birth of Great Britain finally created the environment necessary to foster civil liberty and economic improvement by defeudalising Scotland. Secondly, if a history of Scotland which implied that of Lowland Scotland was the continuity of hardship and darkness, the Highlands were worse: their clan system was far from being a political system which would bring civil liberty; under such polity, the outcome was predictable - atrocity and no hope of material prosperity. The Highlands had just started on the path to civilisation thanks to the Forty-five and the abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions in 1747. In short, for scholars of the Enlightenment, who enjoyed the fruit of improvement and of British society, the history of Scotland before the Union served simply to vindicate their universal principle. Such views on history are diametrically opposite from the chapbook construction of Scottish nationhood through its emphasis on the authenticity of Scottish liberty.

While Scott's historical understanding took much of a similar line to his mentors at Edinburgh, he did not dismiss Scotland's pre-Union past - in particular the Middle Ages - as David Hume had done in his *History of England.*[17] He

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[14] D. Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, vol. 1 (London, 1864 ed.) p. 548.
[15] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 240.
[16] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp. 109-112. For the definition of feudalism of Enlightenment historians, see, P. Burke, 'Scottish historians and the feudal system: the conceptualisation of social change', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 191 (1980)
[17] N. T. Phillipson, *Hume*, (London, 1989), pp. 128-36.

combined both 'empirical' and 'philosophical' approaches to history, in which lies the uniqueness of Scott: he did not merely pick up the pageant in history; nor did he reduce history to moral principles and lessons.[18] On the other hand, his approach to the history of his native country was also formed by his social background: after all, he was a member of the Tory landed elite who believed in 'North Britain' and of the material prosperity brought about by the Union. How did his status as a rising member of the legal elite, coming from a landed background give influence to Scott's understanding and construction of Scottishness? The next section will examine what impact the socio-political context of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Scotland gave Scott.

3

In the eyes of the Scottish landed elite, the semi-independent state of Scotland under the control of 'Scottish managers' was in much need of reconstruction by the early nineteenth-century. Indeed, as discussed in chapter three, the radical activities which were partly spurred by the French Revolution gave these managers an excuse to tighten their grip on Scottish society by fierce coercion of Radicalism and the infiltration by their spies, while they made some concessions to the lower echelons of society.[19] Meanwhile their fear of the radicalism led them to believe both intentionally and unintentionally that the Scottish radicals' demand for participating in the realm of politics would mean the loss of their property, and this was articulated in some conservative chapbooks such as *Right and Equality, Constitution, Organisation, and Kings*.[20]

The obsession of the landed classes with social instability could be

[18] Garside, 'Romantic Past', pp. 152-3.
[19] See chapter three. Colley, *Britons*, ch. 4.
[20] W. A. Speck, *Literature and Society in Eighteenth-century England*, p. 142, and Davidson, *The origins of Scottish nationhood*, pp. 159-62 and P. H. Scott, 'The Politics of Sir Walter Scott', in J. H. Alexander and E. Hewitt (eds.), *Scott and His Influence* (Aberdeen, 1983)

attributed to misgivings that they had lost their traditional device to rule the localities, as heritable jurisdictions were abolished in 1747. However, the process of incorporating the Scottish landed elite into the British polity worked well so long as the distinct Scottishness represented by the legal and ecclesiastical system was kept intact. Such Scottishness was rarely threatened in the eighteenth century. One exception was a commotion about the proposal to decrease the number of judges on the Court of Session to two thirds in 1785.[21] Here, one should notice the fine, yet tangible, distinction in the mind of the Scottish elite, between Scotland as 'North Britain' and Scotland being reduced simply to a province of England.[22]

The battle of Waterloo, and the end of the long lasting Napoleonic War can be regarded as a watershed in the landed elite's construction of a British identity. It had first developed as an outcome of the politicised constitution which was the Treaty of Union in 1707.[23] The sense of Britishness acted as a bridge to connect Protestant England, Scotland and Wales together (to a certain extent).[24] As in the case of the radical patriotism and popular loyalism, the landed elite had dual or concentric nationalities, but for different use, as Alexander Murdoch explains. Under the umbrella of British nationhood, 'a landowner is a landowner is a landowner' which does not make much difference among the landed elites in the four nations.[25] On the other hand, in practice, as Smout points out, the idea of concentric identities was more problematic in 'South Britain' where the distinction between Englishness and Britishness was at best blurred.[26]

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[21] N. T. Phillipson, 'Nationalism and Ideology', in J. N. Wolfe, *Government and Nationalism in Scotland* (London, 1969) pp. 169-74.

[22] On the other hand, Jame Hogg's account on his trip to the Highlands show that there was a wide rage of variations in North Britishness:
I [James Hogg] wish from my heart that the distinctions of Englishmen and Scot were entirely disannulled and sunk in that of Britons. (J. Hogg, *A tour in the Highlands in 1803: A Series of Letters* (Edinburgh, 1986 ed.), p. 6.)

[23] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp. 206-7. Levack, *The Formation of British State*, pp. 169-213.

[24] Colley, *Britons*, chapter 1 and Murdoch, *British History*, pp. 133-4.

[25] Murdoch, *British History*, p. 133.

[26] T. C. Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism, Identity and improvement in Later Eighteenth-Century Scotland', in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 2-3, 7-8.

The concentric identity of the Scottish landed elite was embodied in the idea of 'North Britain', firstly by improving their domestic economy (their enthusiasm for agricultural improvement exemplified this), and later by taking a lead in building the British Empire.[27] 'North Britain' was ideologically supported by the Enlightened intellectuals, as they disregarded the pre-Union past: the feudal backwardness of pre-Union Scotland was swept away by incorporation with England where civil liberty had already developed. Ironically, this historical understanding of the Scottish past was also shared with the Scotto-phobic Wilkites.[28] This progression towards an 'anglicised modernity' was affirmed at Culloden in front of these 'Enlightened' intellectuals.[29] However, such progress was brought to Scotland not by changing their nationality to English but by participating in the Anglo-centric Britain.

Scott was a member of the last generation of the conservative landed elite who believed in this construction of Scotland as 'North Britain'. Indeed, the first half of his life was spent in the eighteenth century, the century of progress, while Jacobitism was still a living memory in people's minds. On the other hand, his life before writing *Waverley* (1814) was the typical success story of a Tory gentleman: he received a legal education and, thanks to the Tory Dundas Establishment, became Quartermaster of the Royal Edinburgh Light Dragoons in 1797, and in 1799 become Sheriff-Deputy of Selkirkshire.[30] However, his life as a novelist neatly coincided with the beginning of social change. Whereas his belief in the social ideal of 'North Britain' seemed to be unquestionable in his early novels from *Waverley* (1814) to *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), his later novels and non-fiction reveal a confused state of his mind. This is, as we will discuss later, probably derived from his fear that his particular configuration of Scottish nationhood was in danger from two

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[27] C. Kidd, 'North Britishness' and idem., 'Sentiment, race and revival' and Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain?'.
[28] C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp. 125-7, and Pittock, *Investing and Regsisting Britain,* pp. 144-45.
[29] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp. 205-15.
[30] H. Meikle, 'Bain Whyt and the Edinburgh Volunteers', *SHR*, 30 (1951), pp. 34-5.

directions. Firstly, he perceived that the centralisation of the British state would lead his version of Scottishness to its destruction. Such fear was eloquently articulated in the polemical article *Malachi Malagrowther*. Secondly, the revival of radicalism after 1815 and the Reform movement made him believe that enfranchisement would lead the Scottish elite to lose not only their right to govern Scotland but also their property, as he partly expressed in *Visionary*. However, before analysing these misgivings, the romanticised formulation of Scottishness in the *Waverley* novels will be analysed in the next section.

4

Thus far, this chapter has examined how the intellectual and social contexts influenced Scott to form his version of Scottish nationhood. And in his construction of Scottishness these two factors were inter-related with each other. Scott's positive acceptance of Scotland's *status quo* in the framework of the British state is legitimised by his understanding of Scottish history based on the Enlightenment 'philosophical' history. For Scott, such acceptance was both politically and intellectually justifiable. On the other hand, his departure from the 'Enlightenment' historians, the acceptance of the pre-Union Scottish past, if not politically, was partly derived from his childhood experience in the Borders.

In retrospect, it was in Scott's *Waverley* novels that the combination of 'mind' and 'heart' worked at its best to represent Scotland as a unified nation within the British political framework. While the nationhood represented by the Covenanters - 'rugged men of the moor'- in the Scottish chapbooks did not unify Scotland in religious, political and geographical terms, because of their particular configuration of Scottish nationhood, Scott presented the picture of a more 'harmonised' Scotland where past conflict was reconciled through his literary

devices. On the other hand, these two opposite images of Scottishness had one thing in common: the absence of the Highlands and the Jacobites as a politically and socially active element of Scottishness. In the case of the Covenanter chapbooks the Highlanders were excluded from the construction of nationhood along with the Stuart dynasty because of their support of the tyrant James II.

This is where Scott differed. He included the Highlands as well as the Jacobites in the *Waverley Novels* as the heart of Scotland. However, the role allocated to them by Scott was fundamentally different from that of the Lowlands. The Highlands and the Jacobites were a dream in the past, whereas the Lowlands and the Hanoverian dynasty were a reality in the present.[31] The ideology of the Jacobites and the Highlands as a social reality hardly existed in Scott's mental map of Scotland.[32]

Such a role for the Highlands is articulated in *Waverley*. Fergus MacIvor in *Waverley*, a clan chieftain, accepts his fate of execution with the words 'God save King James', because he had to follow the course of 'history'.[33] No character could resist the natural and universal law of 'history', though their ideal was noble. Jonathan Culler explains this by using the dichotomy of the dream of Jacobitism and the reality of the Hanoverian succession in *Waverley*: it is not possible to proceed from the latter to the former, as Edward Waverley professes:

> No - I considered my campaign ended, when, after all my efforts, I could not join them.[34]

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[31] R. Humphrey, *Scott Waverley* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 70-73.

[32] Scott locates the Highlands in the ethnographical map of Scotland in the following terms:
The Scottish Highlanders were, like, the Welsh, the unmixed aboriginal natives of the island, speaking a dialect of the ancient Celtic, one the language of all Britain, and being the descendents of those tribes which had been driven by the successive invasions of nations more politic than themselves, and better skilled in the regular arts of war, into the extensive mountainous tract which, divided by an imaginary line, drawn from Dumbarton, includes both sides of Loch Lomond, and the higher and more mountainous part of Stirling and Perthshire, Angus, Mearns, and Aberdeenshire. Beyond this line all the people speak Gaelic, and wear, or did wear, the Highland dress. (W. Scott, *Manners, Customs, and History of the Highlanders of Scotland* (New York, 1993 ed), p. 29.

[33] Sir W. Scott, *Waverley* (London, 1985 ed.), p. 476 and M. H. Cusac, *Narrative Structure in the Novels of Sir Walter Scott* (The Hague, 1969), p. 88.

[34] Culler, *Victorian Mirror*, p. 26. Scott, *Waverley*, p. 425. Pittock's contention that historical dialectic of 'old' and 'new' was the main device of historical narrative in *Waverley* appears to be plausible. Pittock, 'Scott as Historiographer', pp. 146-7. Scott also emphasises the emotional nature of

In *Waverley*, Jacobitism, along with the Highlands, is eventually given a beautiful but doomed fate symbolised by the gallant death of MacIvor. Accordingly, the conclusion of the novel is a rather optimistic affirmation of the civilised British present as well as an idealisation of the Jacobite feudal past.[35] They were no longer the barbaric tools of tyranny as found in some chapbooks.

The dichotomy of the Jacobites and the Hanoverians reveals something of Scott's attitude towards Scottish historiography as well. If one compares the sets of dialectics such as the Hanoverian reality and the Jacobite dream and the present and the past in *Waverley* with the paradigm of 'philosophical' historiography (the sociological Whig historiography, in Colin Kidd's phrasing), Scott's debt to his predecessors becomes apparent. Scott's difference from the sociological Whig historians, who pushed the Scottish past into oblivion, is that he attempted to beautify, deepen and make it attractive by means of emphasising the double-sided nature of Scottish history - romanticism and reality. As James Anderson points out, 'He was a Jacobite in feeling, he claimed to be a Hanoverian by conviction'.[36] It is also explained by Scott's own words, if less explicitly:

> ... and, trivial as may appear such an offering, to the Manes of a kingdom, once proud and independent, I hang it upon her with a mixture of feelings, which I shall not attempt to describe.[37]

Murray Pittock sees Scott as a major contributor to the beautification and mythologisation of Jacobitism. Jacobitism became a romantic icon of the Scottish past personified by the tartan-clad Prince Charles.[38] Scott saw Scotland as a divided nation: religious sectarianism, the Lowlands and the Highlands, ethnic difference,

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Jacobitism rather than the rational nature. See, H. J. C. Grierson, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* , (London, 1932), vol. 5 p. 197.

[35] J. A. Smith, 'Scott and the Idea of Scotland' (2 pt), *The University of Edinburgh Journal*, 21 (1963-64), pp. 199-200.

[36] J. Anderson, *Sir Walter Scott and History*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 24. Also see, R. Humphrey, *Walter Scott, Waverley* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 66-70.

[37] Sir W. Scott, *The Minstrelsy of the Border Ballads*, (Edinburgh, 1802), p. cxxxi.

[38] Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* , p. 112 and *Invention of Scotland*, pp. 84-90.

and concluded that because of these historic divisions, the Scots could not govern on their own. As he neutralised Jacobitism, he could not see the Highlands as they really were, but as an essentially different entity from the Lowlands.[39] His emphasis upon the inferiority of the Highlands is also articulated in his *Manne rs, Customs, and History of the Highlanders of Scotland*:

> And evidently it must have been matter of astonishment to the subjects of the complicated and combined constitution of Great Britain, to find they were living at the next door to tribes whose government and manners were simply and purely patriarchal, and who, in the structure of their social system, much more resembled the inhabitants of the mountains of India than those of the plains of England.[40]

Even in his later works, in which he seemed to lose faith in progress, he did not abandon this perspective.[41] For Scott, the Highlands were the symbol of romantic Scotland. There was no place for the harsh reality of the Highland clearances in his picture of the 'bonny' Highlands. For the clearances were a part of the process to civilise the Highlands, though he admits the injustice committed during the eviction:

> The dawn of civilisation would have risen slowly on the system of Highland society; and as the darker and harsher shades were already dispelled, the romantic contrast and variety reflected upon ancient and patriarchal usages, by the general diffusion of knowledge, would, like the brilliant colours of the morning clouds, have survived for sometime, ere blended with general mass of ordinary manners.[42]

Jacobitism and the Highlands were transformed into national sentiment, which was well suited to Scott's historical dialectic of rational Anglo-British unionism and emotional Scottish patriotism which had also no relevance to radical patriotism as it was constructed in the chapbooks. In the meantime, after the emasculation of

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[39] Grierson, *Letters*, vol. 3, pp. 115-6 reads:
The Highland usages and manners have had this very remarkable and uncommon fate- that they have subsisted to a very late period in a state of extreme simplicity although the districts which they influenced make but an inconsiderable part of the empire they belong to- and then that they have not been utterly abolished or forgotten until a rational spirit of curiosity concerning them has been excited among those who have the best opportunity of gratifying it by the necessary enquires.
[40] Scott, *Manners, Customs, and History*,p. 22.
[41] W. Scott, 'History of Scotland' in D. Lardner, *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, vol. 1 (London, 1830), pp. 49-58.
[42] Ibid., p.111. Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, p. 86 and McMaster, *Scott and Society*, p. 111.

Jacobite ideology, Jacobitism was left with the image of the tartan-clad 'patriotic' Highlanders led by Prince Charles, which was essentially 'peripheral' by nature.[43] When George IV visited Scotland in 1822, Scott organised the pageantry in which the whole of Scotland was presented as a Highland clan symbolised by the king in the Royal Stewart tartan; 'We are THE CLAN, and our King is THE CHIEF'.[44] Thus, Jacobitism was integrated into Hanoverian Britain, and the divided 'Scotlands' were incorporated into one historical icon.

The Union was also neutered in Scott's historiography. Reading the *Waverley* novels set in the eighteenth-century, one soon notices that the Union is often described as a 'bad thing' by his characters.[45] For instance, in *Heart of Mid Lothian*, Scott let the character Mrs Howden speak about the sorrow of the present situation of Scotland:

> 'I'll tell ye what it is, neighbours' said Mrs Howden, 'I'll ne'er believe Scotland is Scotland ony mair, if our kindly Scots sit down with the affront they hae given us this day'.[46]

In another case, in *Redgauntlet,* Sir John's act to vote for the Union was deplored by Wandering Willie:

> If his father could have come out of his grave, he would have brained him for it on his awn headstane.[47]

It is unlikely that Scott let these characters articulate his own feeling about the Union. Probably he tried not to distort the historical 'reality' behind the Union by

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[43] Pittock, *Invention of Scotland,* p. 87.
[44] Quoted in ibid., p. 89 and B. C. Skinner, 'Scott as Pageant-Master - The Royal Visit of 1822', A. Bell (ed.), *Scott Bicentenary Essays* (Edinburgh, 1973), J. Prebble, *The King's Jaunt* (London, 1988)
[45] There are only a few novels in which Scott wrote about the Union at length: *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *The Black Dwarf.* In particular, the narrative structure of *The Black Dwarf* is strongly connected to the course of history between the eve of the Union and the aborted Jacobite rebellions. The Union is used not simply to enhance the historical verisimilitude of the novels, but to represent his idea of 'North Britain' and belief in progress. As for The Union in the former, see Garside's discussion in 'Union and *The Bride of Lammermoor*', *Studies in Scottish Literature* , 19 (1984), especially pp. 77-89.
[46] Sir W. Scott, *Heart of Mid Lothian,* (Oxford, 1982 ed.), p. 47.
[47] Sir W. Scott, *Redgauntlet* (Oxford, 1985 ed.), p. 106.

means of inserting of episodes about popular anti-Union feeling.[48] The issue of whether he supported such a feeling is another matter. Probably, he supported the Union which played a role of assuring the *status quo* represented and enjoyed by Scott himself and his fellow landed elites. This partly explains his fierce opposition to the abolition of small bank notes, as found in *Malachi Malagrowther*, as well as his deep sense of misgiving against the Whig led Reform Bill Movement.

Scott's construction of Scottishness as the woven work of Romanticism and the Enlightenment within the British polity proved an immense success both nationally and internationally.[49] Yet, as such a notion of Scottishness was located in the opposite end of religious and political spectrum from the Covenanter chapbooks and radical patriotism, some part of his understanding of Scottish history caused uneasiness amongst many. The next section examines how Scott's novel *Old Mortality* was received in the followers of Scottish nationhood as the embodiment of religious freedom.

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Scott's promotion of Jacobites and the Highlands, even as the symbol of dream and the past, sent an alarming signal to some quarters of society. Thomas MacCrie, the presbyterian minister and the biographer of John Knox and Andrew Melville, was one of the main Scott's critics from presbyterian perspective. MacCrie's attacks on Scott in his review of Scott's novel *Old Mortality* are two-fold.[50] Firstly, MacCrie

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[48] Humphrey, *Scott, Waverley,* p. 68 and Smith, 'Scott and the Idea of Scotland', p. 199. On the extent of popular anti-Unionism, see C. Whatley, *Bought and Sold?* and Logue, Popular Disturbance

[49] Humphrey, *Scott Waverley*, pp. 99-103, and 107-10.

[50] T. MacCrie, *A Vindication of the Scottish Covenanters, consisting of a review of the first series of the tales of my landlord, extracted from the Christian Instructor for 1817;with an appendix containing various extracts, illustrative of the principles and character of the reformers*, (1824, Glasgow), and also see Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past*, pp. 201-4.

accused Scott of being biased and not faithful to 'historical truth' by accusing the Covenanters of their religious bigotry:

> ...whatever may be thought of the extravagance or narrow-minded bigotry of many of their tenets, it is impossible to deny the praise of devoted courage to a few hundred peasants, who, without leaders, without money, without magazines, without any fixed plan of action, and almost without arms, borne out only by their innate zeal, and a detestation of the oppression of their rulers, ventured to declare open war against an established government, supported by a regular army and the whole force of three kingdoms.[51]

MacCrie's anger was further flared by the Viscount of Dundee being regarded as a heroic figure:

> It is by no means a story purely fictitious, but is of a mixed kind, and embraces the principal facts in the real history of this country during a very important period. The author has not merely availed himself incidentally of these facts; but they form the ground-work, and furnish the principal materials of his story...The person who undertakes such a work, subjects himself to laws far more strict than those which bind the ordinary class of fictitious writers. It is not enough that he keeps within the bounds of probability, -he must conform to historic truth. If he introduces real characters, they must feel, and speak, and act, as they are described to have done in the faithful page of history, and the author is not at liberty to mould them as he pleases, to make them more interesting, and to give greater effect to his story.[52]

He suggested that if Scott had created a 'rational' presbyterian character as a narrator of 'historical truth', that is, how the crown and the government tried to suppress Scottish patriotism, the story could have escaped the banality of melodrama and

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[51] Sir W. Scott, *Old Mortality* (London, 1985 ed.), p. 243.

[52] MacCrie, *Vindication of the Scottish Covenanters*, pp.13-14. Scott certainly does not describe Claverhouse as a blood thirsty tool of tyranny as often found among chapbooks:
The severity of his character, as well as the higher attributes of undaunted and enterprising valour which even his enemies were compelled to admit, lay concealed under an exterior which seemed adapted to the court or the saloon rather than to the field. The same gentleness and gaiety of expression which reigned in his features seemed to inspire his actions and gestures; and, on the whole, he was generally esteemed, at first sight, rather qualified to be the votary of pleasure than of ambition. But under this soft exterior was hidden a spirit unbounded in daring and in aspiring, yet cautious and prudent as that of Machiavel himself. Profound in politics, and embued, of course, with that disregard for individual rights which intrigues usually generate, this pursuing success, careless of facing death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others. (Scott, *Old Mortality*, pp. 175-76.)
Scott also defences this treatment of Claverhouse in a review of *Tales of My Landlord* which was printed in *Quarterly Review*:
...John Grahame, of Claverhouse... and its accurate resemblance can hardly be disputed, though those who only look at his cruelty towards the Presbyterians will consider his courage, talents, high spirit, and loyal devotion to an unfortunate master, as ill associated with such evil attributes. (Quoted in ibid., p. 501.)

sentimentality, as he argued above.[53] For MacCrie, joining the Covenanting movement was the act of patriotism which has similarities with the Covenanter chapbooks:

> The people of Scotland were deeply rooted in their attachment to Presbytery, from a persuasion of its agreeableness, religious and civil, which it had produced, from the oaths which they were under to adhere to it, and from the sufferings which they had endured for their adherence to it, both from the court and from the secretaries of England.[54]

Like the authors of the Covenanter chapbooks, McCrie does not go beyond this to demand an independent Scottish nation-state based on republicanism. The argument merely states that 'had not the ancient spirit of Scotland been broken by repeated disasters, and had they not been basely betrayed, the nation would have risen at once, bound this mad crew, and thrown off the degrading yoke which was imposed upon them'.[55]

The fundamental difference between the writers of stories about Bruce and Bannockburn, as well as those of covenanting history including Thomas McCrie and Scott seems to lie in their understanding and usage of the word 'nation'. As we have seen in chapters three and four, the nationhood constructed by the former writers was based on the dichotomy of the nation and her ruler personified by the Monarch and institutionalised by the Government. If national identity, or indeed any identity, operates by defining and redefining the Self and Other in relation to other contexts, the significant 'Other' of the Scottish identity found in those Scottish chapbooks as well as Thomas McCrie's essay was not necessarily other nations but somehow a smaller or narrower body within a country. On the other hand, Scott's understanding

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[53] In *Old Mortality*, the main character is actually a moderate presbyterian Henry Morton who happens to become one of the commanders of the Covenanting army, whose rational and disinterested judgement eventually leads Morton to the denouement, while his zealous and vindictive colleague in the Covenanting army faces the severe ending.
[54] MacCrie, *A Vindication of the Scottish Covenanters*, p. 27.
[55] Ibid., p. 28.

of the word nation seems to be founded on the dichotomy of one nation and other nations. This explains why Sir William Wallace as well as John Brown of Priesthill became patriotic icons in those chapbooks. Wallace was the patriot not just because he made a strenuous effort to liberate Scotland from the English rule, despite of his ultimate failure, but because he fought against tyranny. Likewise, the heroes in these chapbooks were people who opposed their rulers according to the call of God as well as patriotic urge.[56]

This is where the early nineteenth-century conservatives including Scott and Aiton became uneasy about this particular version of Scottish national identity. Scott articulates his thoughts on the late Covenanters (or the Cameronians in his word) in the following terms:

> It is enough for our present purpose to observe that the present Church of Scotland, which comprises so much sound doctrine and learning, and has produced so many distinguished characters, is the legitimate representative of the indulged clergy of the days of Charles II settled however upon a comprehensive basis. That after the revolution, it should have succeeded episcopacy as the national religion, was natural and regular, because it possessed all the sense, learning, and moderation fir for such a change, and because among its followers were to be found the only men of property and influence who acknowledged presbytery. But the Cameronians continued long as a separate sect, though their preachers were bigoted and ignorant, and their hearers were gleaned out of the lower ranks of the peasantry.[57]

Meanwhile, the concept of Scottish nationhood defined as the nation controlled by the Scottish landed elite within the British state faced a serious crisis in Scott's eyes, as the British government proposed to abolish the small Scottish banknotes. As we will see in the next section, for him, it was not just a change in financial issues but a

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[56] This point is, in turn, criticised in Aiton's account of the battle of Drumclog with a particular reference to McCrie's review of *Old Mortality*:
A Reviewer of the Tales of my Landlord...says 'Had not the ancient spirit of Scotland broken, and had they not been basely betrayed the Nation would have risen at once, bound this mad crew (the Parliament) and thrown off the degrading yoke (Episcopacy) which was imposed upon them.' ... It is not easy to say what is the 'Ancient Spirit' to which the Reviewer refers. It surely cannot be that infuriated frenzy, which induced the people to pull down the Churches and destroy the Public Records, or the ardent zeal which stimulated Margaret Geddes, who had been on the repenting stool the preceding Sabbath, to throw her stool at the Bishop's head, when he began to read the litany in St Giles Church. Aiton, *A History of the Rencounter at Drumclog*, p. 25.

[57] Quoted in *Old Mortality*, p. 511.

menace to the *de-facto* autonomy enjoyed by Scotland and governed by the landed elite under the auspices of the British state. Such view is going to be examined through the readings of *Malachi Malagrowther* and *The Tales of a Grandfather* in the next chapter

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Scott was convinced that the Union brought not only prosperity but also liberation from the tyrannical feudal past.[58] His belief in the progress of civilisation, however, and the beneficial effects of economic improvement, was severely questioned by the events of the 1820s, events which coincided to the lead up to his bankruptcy in 1825.[59] Although his historiography took the line of the Whig historical school, Scott was politically a convinced Tory. While the Tory politics of Scott was well expressed in his prose works, *Visionary* and his *Journal*, his view of the Union was nourished through his encounters with the sociological Whig history as well as his conservatism shared with his fellow Tory landed elite.[60] In the introduction of *Visionary*, for instance, Scott explains how the concept of property becomes the foundation of Britain's constitutional principle, and how enfranchisement could lead the nation to the danger of despotism:

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[58] Scott's view on tyranny is also expressed in *The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, which is more like 'heroic tragedy', but his delineation of Napoleon is essentially different from those in the loyalist chapbooks, 'He might have been a patriot prince, he chose to be an usurping desport - he might have played the part of Washington, he preferred that of Cromwell', quoted in T. R. Dale, 'The shaping of history: Scott's *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*' in Alexander and Hewitt, *Scott in Carnival*, p. 398.

[59] C. Harvie, 'Scott and the image of Scotland', in Bold, A. (ed.), *Sir Walter Scott: The Long-Forgotten Melody* (London, 1983), pp. 31-2. McMaster speculates that his crisis came earlier than 1825 - in 1819, the year of Peterloo as well as the illness. See, McMaster, *Scott and Society*, pp. 90-2.

[60] P. H. Scott argues that Scott's view on conservative politics was largely influenced by Adam Fergusson. P. H. Scott, 'The Politics of Sir Walter Scott'.

> Property is chosen as the basis of the elective franchise, because it is the most tangible mark of the capacity necessary to exercise it, as well as the most certain sign of the independence of situation, from which, if possible, it should never be divided... An enlargement of the elective privilege, which should bring the fickle, unthinking, and brutal mob into the field, would be a measure which must speedily terminate in military despotism, to which men have fled, in all ages and countries, as an evil whose terrors were incalculably less than those of a factious and furious democracy.[61]

The growing parliamentary reform movement, accordingly, gave him anxiety rather than hope for the futures[62].

The Letters from Malachi Malagrowther in 1826 should be understood in this context. The main content of *Malachi Malagrowther* is a protest against the government's proposal to abolish small bank notes in Scotland.[63] Scott opposed the proposed change simply 'for uniformity's sake', as the present condition of the Scottish banks was far from being critical.[64] Furthermore, the Scottish banks had played an indispensable role in the development of the Scottish economy since the Union. He emphasised that there is a distinction between 'North Britain' and her southern neighbour, and there is no point in imposing uniformity impetuously:

> A uniformity in benefits may be well - an uniformity in penal measures, towards the innocent and the guilty, in prohibitory regulations, whether necessary or not, seems harsh law, and worse justice.[65]

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[61] W. Scott, *Visionary*, P. Garside (ed.), (Cardiff, 1984 ed.), pp. 13-5. Scott's alarm at the Whig politics answering to the popular demand for the expansion of their political right is also well expressed in the following terms:
The Whigs will live and die in the heresy that the world is ruled by little pamphlets and speeches and that if you can sufficiently demonstrate that a line of conduct is most consistent with men's interest you have therefore and thereby demonstrate [d] that they will at length after a few speeches on the subject adopt it of course. In this case we would have [no] need of laws or churches for I am sure there is no difficulty of proving that moral, regular, steady habits conduce to Men's best interest and that vice is not sin merely but folly. (idem., *Journal*, p. 16.)

[62] His aversion to the whig led proposal for the Reform Bill despite his ambivalence towards articulating it by his writing is well expressed in his *Journal*. See, Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, (Edinburgh, 1998 (ed.)), pp. 385, 714, and 719-20.

[63] Scott himself expresses his prime motive for writing *Malachi Malagrowther* in his *Journal*:
...it may fall dead and there will be a squib lost; it may chance to light on some ingredients of national feeling and set folk's beards in a blaze and so much better if it does—I mean better for Scotland—not a whit for me. (Scott, *Journal*, p. 111, and also see p. 109.)

[64] W. Scott, *The Letters from Malachi Malagrowther*, in *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, (Edinburgh, 1853 ed.), vol. 21, pp. 284-91.

[65] ibid., p. 296.

The motivation for Scott to write *Malachi Malagrowther* lies not only in his criticism of the abolition of small bank notes but also in his sense of facing an identity crisis (Scotland's and his own).[66] In his eyes, the structure and mentality created by the Union were now changing at top speed. His concern was also disclosed as early as 1806 regarding proposed change in the legal administration and in 1818 in relation to the Regalia of Scotland:

> For, it was evident the removal of the Regalia might have greatly irritated people's minds here, and offered a fair pretext of breaking the Union, which for thirty years was the predominant wish of the Scottish nation.[67]

In short, *Malachi Malagrowther* could be construed as Scott's reflection on and criticism of the Scottish present connected to history since the Union of 1707. His feeling against the uniformity imposed by England is well expressed by the oft-quoted passage in the last part of the second letter:

> For God's sake, sir, let us remain as Nature made us, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, with something like the impress of our several countries each! We would not become better subjects, or move valuable members of the common empire, if we all resembled each other like so many smooth shillings ... Lastly, let us borrow each other's improvements, but never before they are needed and demanded. The degree of national diversity between different countries is but an instance of that general variety which Nature seems to have adopted as a principle through all her works, as anxious, apparently, to avoid as modern statesmen to enforce, anything like an approach to absolute 'uniformity'.[68]

At this point, his criticism of the imposed uniformity and his lament for the erosion of a distinctive Scottishness, were transformed into criticism of England.

It is clear that Scott did not want to separate Scotland from the United

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[66] On the other hand, Scott repeatedly questions on his quality for writing on such an issue because of his financial status. *Journal*, pp. 114, 120.

[67] Grierson, *Letters*, vol. 5, p. 75. On the other hand, he also argued in *Description of the Regalia of Scotland*:
We now reap the slow, but well ripened fruits of the painful sacrifice made at the Union, can compare, with calmer judgement, the certain blessings of equality of laws and rights, extended commerce, improved agriculture, individual safety, and domestic peace with the vain, though generous boast of a precarious national independence, subject to all evils of domestic faction and delegated oppression. (quoted in Humphrey, *Scott, Waverley*, pp. 68-9.)

[68] *Letters*, vol. 5, pp. 373-4.

Kingdom. What Scott desired was neither total independence, particularly in the form of the Scottish Republic nor total absorption into 'South Britain', but the co-existence of the landed-elite governed Scotland and England with equal status in the ever-expanding British Empire.[69] But the comfortable assumption that Scott's Scottish and British identities were readily compatible - together with his earnest belief in Improvement and rationalism - were being swayed by the fast changing situation in the 1820s, as we have examined above. Scott's 'fear of the development of bourgeois democratic views' was an underlying theme in *Malachi Malagrowther*, which is eloquently evinced in Scott's own words:

> They are gradually destroying what remains of nationality and making the country *tabula rasa* for doctrines of bold innovation. Their lowering and grinding down all those peculiarities which distinguished us as Scotsmen will throw the county into a state in which it will be universally turned to democracy and instead of canny Saunders they will have a very dangerous North British neighbourhood.[70]

Scott kept the sense of the loss of Scottish distinctiveness, as in the introduction of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. Yet this lamentation could have been accommodated with the triumphant results of Improvement and Enlightenment, as seen in *The Manners, Customs, and History of the Highlanders of Scotland.* However, Scott's attempt to reconcile the past with the present now faced an impasse. Scott's nationalism in *Malachi Malagrowther* is probably a mixture of frustration and a sense of helplessness. He probably tried to be both a Unionist and a Nationalist in terms of British politics, which went well so long as his envisioned nationhood remained intact in terms of both de-facto semi-autonomy and the landed elite's governing structure. However, on both accounts, Scott was not so certain as he once used to be.

Scott's interpretation of the Union of 1707 in *The Tales of a Grandfather*

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[69] Davidson, *Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, p. 162.

[70] Scott, *Journals*, p. 131, and see also D. Daiches, 'Scott and Scotland', in A. Bell (ed.), *Scott Bicentenary Essays*, (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 42.

arguably reflects this confused state of mind, which was originally written for Scott's grandson John Hugh Lockhart. Once Scott had tried to write 'a right history of Scotland', but this attempt failed, as he found that such a work would require 'far more than he had it in his power to give to the subject'.[71] *The Tales* are only a concise version of Scott's views on Scottish history.

As regards historiographical approaches to the Union of 1707, the structure of *The Tales* is quite interesting. Scott commences the history of Scotland with a chapter entitled 'How Scotland and England came to be separate Kingdoms' wherein he sought the reasons for ethnic differences between the two kingdoms.[72] From the start, Scott set Scottish history in the context of the inevitability of union. This idea of Scotland as 'a fated nation' is further cemented by describing the government during medieval times.[73] As he elucidated the differences of political systems between despotism and 'free government' which Great Britain was supposed to have, he revealed that Scotland could not have such a free government as she was governed by tyrannical nobles who always engaged themselves in 'deadly feud'. This deplorable lawlessness was sometimes punished by 'a wise and vigorous prince' such as Robert Bruce, though this was rather unusual. This lawless state was aggravated by two heterogeneous and peripheral elements in the kingdom - the Highlands and the Borders.[74] It is noteworthy that Scott sustained the idea of feudal backwardness in terms typical of Sociological Whig historiography. Yet Scott departs from Anglo-centric Whig historiography by pointing out that civil liberty in England had been introduced by the Normans at the time of the Conquest.[75] This was a remarkable difference from previous Whig historiography which argued that civil

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[71] J. W. Burgon, *The Portrait of a Christian gentleman, a memoir of Patrick Fraser Tytler* (London, 1859), pp. 175-6.
[72] Sir W. Scott, *The Tales of a Grandfather: Being the History of Scotland from the earliest period to the close of the Rebellion 1745-46*, (London, 1925 ed.), pp. 2-6.
[73] Ibid., pp. 110-121.
[74] Scott seems to consider that the heterogeneity of the Highlands was derived from not only the language (Gaelic) but also the particularity of behavioural pattern: the Highlands were ethnically different from the Lowlands. See, ibid., pp. 116-20.
[75] Ibid., pp. 20-2.

liberty had existed in Saxon-England.[76] In either case, Scott differed from the notion of Scottish nationhood as the embodiment of liberty as found in the chapbooks of radical patriotism and loyalism. For him, such a notion was unacceptable in both political and intellectual terms.

At the succession of James VI to the English throne, the narration is interrupted by a chapter explaining the law of progress.[77] This is more than simply a convenient break in the narrative. At the end of chapter thirty-three, Scott describes the Union of the crowns as the end of Scotland's distinct and separate history, and then at the beginning of the next chapter, the Union of the crowns is given the role of not only ending the lasting enmity between the two kingdoms, but also of commencing the progress of society.[78]

Scott's attitudes towards the Union in *The Tales* are similar to those expressed in *Malachi Malagrowther*. Whereas Scott seems to believe in the Union, and in the irreversible nature of progress, he asserts that such a union must not be dictated by England and must be under a fair condition.[79] In the case of the Union of 1707, the unconditional participation of Scotland in the English trade and navigation which would heal Scottish pride wounded by the Darien scheme was a necessary premise for the happy and fair Union. The difference from the *Waverley* novels is that Scott no longer accused Scotland of being immature, as he once had found in the novel *Black Dwarf*. However, during the negotiations over the Union, the framework

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[76] On the other hand, Scott emphasises the similarities of the Saxon-Lowlands to England. (See, Scott, *History of Scotland*, pp. 49-58.) As for discussion of Scottish Teutonism, see, C. Kidd, 'Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition, 1780-1880', *SHR* 74, (1995), especially, pp. 47-51, 55-6.

[77] It is interesting to compare this chapter with the conclusion of Tytler's *History of Scotland*. While in *The Tales*, the good side of the regal union is emphasised, in the latter Scott cited two meaningful episodes. One is about the encounter of King James's pageantry with the funeral of Lord Seton. Scott himself regarded the other episode (about the bad omen of James' future) as the Jacobite fabricated myth. (*History of Scotland*, pp. 425-6.) Furthermore, in the beginning of the chapter, he eloquently elucidates the desirability and inevitability of such a Union:
Providence had by a singular course of events removed the objections upon either side, which, at an early period, bade fair to impede for ever this happy consummation. (ibid., p. 402.)

[78] *The Tales*., pp. 365, 377.

[79] Ibid., pp. 738, 741-2.

of the treaty was dictated by the English commissioners. At this point, Scott does not conceal his resentment towards the Scottish commissioners who succumbed to the lure of money taken from the so-called Equivalent:

> We might have compassionated these statesmen, many of whom were able and eminent men, had they, from the sincere conviction that Scotland was under the necessity of submitting to the Union at all events, accepted the terms which the English commissioners dictated. But when they united with the degradation of their country the prospect of obtaining personal wealth and private emoluments, we cannot acquit them of the charge of having sold their own honour and that of Scotland.[80]

Scott hardly praised the wisdom of the promoters of the Union, as he pointed out that there was extensive distribution of money to the politicians.[81] Nor does he forget to mention the fatal weakness of the opposition tactics in the parliament, as they made no effort to improve the unfavourable articles in the treaty.[82] For Scott, the benefits of the Union did not come until the final breakdown of the Jacobite insurrection of 1745-6, and the subsequent abolition of the heritable jurisdictions and military tenures.[83] Finally, in the year of the succession of George III in 1760, the industrialisation of Scotland started and Scotland and England began the process of 'uniting cordially, as one people'.[84]

The Tales encapsulate Scott's revised views on both the Scottish past and the British present, just as *Malachi Malagrowther* revealed his confusion about the fast changing nature of his native Scotland. In *The Tales*, his bewilderment can be found in his mixture of rational stadial history and display of emotion. In order to construct Scottishness which was suitable for the governing elite to legitimise the *status quo*, Scott had attempted to reconcile these two potentially contradictory elements by setting the Scottish national myth in the perspective of British Unionism. Indeed, Scott's own fortune as both a novelist and a lawyer drew on the

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[80] Ibid., p. 751.
[81] Ibid., pp. 768-9.
[82] Ibid., p. 770.
[83] Ibid., pp. 1175-9, 1186.
[84] Ibid., p. 771, 1188-92.

system created by the Union. For Scott and for his fellow members of the ruling orders in Scotland, loyalty to the Scottish nation was manifested through maintaining and improving its present status as 'North Britain' rather than by turning the clock back to an independent Scotland. Scott believed that he was a Scottish patriot and that he was contributing to his native country rather than damaging its reputation. On the other hand, as his conceptualisation of the place of civil liberty in Scotland demonstrates, Scott seems to oppose the chapbook construction of Scottishness based on the nation and tyrant with its emphasis upon the historical authenticity of Scottish liberty.

Scott in *The Tales* did not seem to have such a conviction about the Union, for the events in the 1820s undermined the confidence which Scott once enjoyed. Nor might he be sure about the adequacy of his patriotism: his almost schizophrenic attitude in *Malachi Malagrowther* may exemplify this. In his later non-fictional works, potentially contradictory views of the Union, once used to create the historical dialectic, were simply left there as 'the strictest friendship and alliance' and 'the unworthy bargain'.[85]

Scott began exploring the divided Scottish past and its relations with the British present, with what he had described in *The Minstrelsy* as a 'mixture of feeling'. Twenty-five years later, the 'mixture of feeling' was still there, yet this feeling was more derived from his worry concerning the present and future of his own brand of Scottishness on two accounts, as we have seen. If that was the case, what impact did the legacy of Scott have on the next generation of Scottish historians as well as the supporters of the Scottish patriotic movement?

Scott's influence on subsequent Scottish historiography was enormous. In the wake of his work, Scottish historians no longer ignored the particularity and sources of history. They actively encouraged the conservation of historical records in

[85] Ibid., pp. 744, 770.

Scotland through historical clubs.[86] In effect, their efforts facilitated historians' pursuit of historical authenticity based on such sources. In this sense, Scottish historiography underwent a dramatic shift away from the didactic and eloquent style of the Enlightenment, to a more sober source-based 'objectivity'.

This style of history - as narrative based on authentic evidence - was inherited by Patrick Fraser Tytler, which was Although his *History of Scotland* did not deal with the Union of 1707, it is possible to reconstruct Tytler's view of the Union as well as Scottish nationhood. Medieval Scotland, for Tytler, was a bloody period dominated by a tyrannical aristocracy, and feudalism in Scotland retarded her progress in comparison with other European countries, especially her southern neighbour. Such understanding of medieval Scottish history based on 'authentic' evidence drastically differed from the chapbook construction of Scottishness based on the ancient of notion of Scottish liberty. Thus, the conclusion of *History of Scotland* becomes quite meaningful: the contrast of pageantry as James VI went southward with the funeral of Lord Seton, head of one of the oldest families in Scotland.[87]

The emphasis on narrative supported by authentic evidence distinguished history from literature is in a way foreign to Scott's works. This is especially the case with John Hill Burton, an eighteenth-century specialist. The contention of Burton that the Union of 1707 was a safety-valve to preserve the Scottish nation, was acceptable to Scotto-British nationalist of the mid-nineteenth century. As will be discussed in the following sections, what they desired was not the creation of a Scottish nation-state but the prevention of further provincialisation and anglicisation through due political autonomy controlled by the Scottish bourgeoisie. The ambivalent attitude of Scott to the Union is not found in Burton's *Histo ry of Scotland*; but Burton did not give excessive appreciation to the Union, which might

[86] Ash, *Strange Death,* chapter 2.
[87] P. F. Tytler, *History of Scotland*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1861 (ed.), IV, p. 315.

be due to his emphasis on the impartiality of historical narrative.

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P. F. Tytler (1791-1849) was one of the original members of the Bannatyne Club which published the primary sources concerned with Scottish history and a historian. He had a similar social background to Scott, being a lawyer and the fourth son of the Tory historian Alexander Tytler (Lord Woodhouselee). His historical methods were influenced by those circumstances.[88] It was Scott who finally persuaded Patrick Tytler to undertake the project of writing the general history of Scotland that Scott himself had once contemplated.[89] After some consideration, Tytler decided to embark upon the task. The first volume of his *History of Scotland* was published by 1829.

The historical perspective of Patrick Tytler's *History of Scotland*, is similar to that of Scott's *The Tales*. Medieval Scotland is again seen in the bloody feuds among the tyrannical aristocracy 'under that savage state of feudal liberty'[90]. Tytler's indictment of the aristocracy is merciless:

> The nobles were haughty and warlike, but rude, ignorant, and illiterate; when not immediately occupied in foreign hostilities, they were indulging in the havoc and plunder which sprung out of private feuds; and they regarded with contempt every pursuit which did not increase their skill, or extend their knightly character.[91]

Patrick Tytler also affirmed that civil institutions and jurisdictions were imported by the Saxons to the ruder Celtic peoples of Scotland, by quoting George Chalmer's

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[88] Ash, *Strange Death,* p. 90 and Lenman, 'Teaching of Scottish History in the Scottish Universities', *SHR*, 52, p. 170.
[89] Burgon, *Christian Gentleman*, pp. 174-7.
[90] P. F. Tytler, *The History of Scotland*, 4 vols., (Edinburgh, 1864 (ed.), I, pp. 250-1.
[91] Ibid., II, p. 212.

Caledonia.[92] Thus, the Whig sociological historiography which denied the ancient liberty of Scotland was inherited by the Tory Patrick Tytler through Scott. By arguing that the accumulation of wealth among artisans resulted in buying their liberty, symbolised by the burgh charter, Tytler presumably implies that the birth of the commercial class was parallel to the accumulation of civil freedom, which is diametrically opposite from the chapbook notion of Scottish liberty.[93]

In retrospect, this was another legacy from Scott. Tytler's understanding of Scottish history which was based on his meticulous reading of historical evidence demonstrates yet, that the it was difficult to support the construction of Scottishness through its emphasis upon the distinct authenticity of the concept of liberty as found in the chapbooks of the era of radical patriotism and popular loyalism. In one sense, however, Tytler's *History of Scotland* might have given a more devastating impact on the notion of Scottishness constructed in those chapbooks than Scott's literary works because of his source-oriented historiographical approach. While the historical veracity of the Scottish nationhood constructed in those chapbooks was largely based on historical memory, partly channelled through oral tradition amongst the Scottish nation, Tytler's approach to Scottish history appeared to be more objective and 'academic'.[94] Accordingly, if chapbooks could provide historical memory with their construction of Scottishness, such a notion of nationhood would be understood as 'folklore', which was the object of study on its own. Such attitudes to Scottish chapbooks were found in the ballad collector William Motherwell's bibliographical article on the eighteenth-century chapman Dougal Graham:

> However slightly we esteem his metrical powers, we really believe he has conscientiously

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[92] Ibid., I. p. 250. Tytler also deemed the Celts as fundamentally different:
It is evident that the Celtic inhabitants of the country were averse to settle or congregate in towns; and that, as long as Scotland continued under a purely Celtic government, the habits of the people opposed themselves to anything like regular industry or improvement. (ibid., I, p. 268.)
The commercial development in Scotland was initiated by the multitudes of Flemish merchants. (ibid., I, p. 265.)

[93] Ibid., I, p. 268.

[94] See, Nora, 'General Introduction', pp. 3-4.

> and honestly detailed the events which came under his observation. It is not, however, on the merits of this work, that Graham's fame rests. Had he only written it, we believe he never would have occupied our thoughts for a moment; but as one who subsequently contributed largely to the amusement of the lower classes of his countrymen, we love to think of the facetious bellman... To refined taste Dougal had no pretensions. His indelicacy is notorious—his coarseness an abomination—but they are characteristic of the class for whom he wrote. He is thoroughly embued with a strong and faithful pencil. Indeed, the uncommon popularity the chapbooks above noted have acquired, entitles them, in many a point of view, to the regard of the moralist, and the literary historian. We meet them on every stall, and every cottage. They are essentially the Library of Entertaining Knowledge to our peasantry, and have maintained their ground in the affections of the people, notwithstanding the attempt of religious, political, or learned associations, to displace them, by substituting more elegant and wholesome literature in their stead.[95]

Motherwell had a common political and professional background with Scott and Tytler, although Motherwell's social background was more humble than the latter two: the tory Sheriff-Clerk Depute.[96] Like Scott, Motherwell did not dismiss chapbooks and ballads as mere nonsense, but he did not seem to treat chapbooks as the sources to understand history.

When Tytler finished his *History of Scotland* in 1843, almost twenty years had passed since Scott had first suggest it be written. During these twenty years, Tytler saw the changes which took place in Scottish society: The Tories had fallen from power in 1830; Scott had died in 1832; the Church of Scotland split into two in 1843. Furthermore, industrialisation and urbanisation regarded as indispensable to the modernisation of Scotland by the newly emerging urban bourgeoisie had caused a fundamental transformation from a rural nation controlled by the landed elite to an industrialised society in which the bourgeoisie played a significant part in governing Scotland through the network of de-centralised bodies and of virtually autonomous voluntary associations, as we will see in the next two chapters. The point here, is despite that the Whig ascendancy and the transformation of the governing structure of Scotland, the de-facto autonomy enjoyed by the Scots within the framework of the British state did not change. Meanwhile economic progress coincided with emigration on a large scale as well as internal migration from rural areas to towns.

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[95] Motherwell, 'Dougald Graham', *Paisley Magazine* 1 (1828).
[96] W. McCarthy, *The ballad matrix: personality, milieu, and the oral tradition* (Bloomington, 1990), pp. 32-33.

The Empire provided the intrepid Scots with the opportunity of exploring places from India to Australia. The 'Diaspora' of the Scottish nation has been recently reassessed as the pride of being a leading nation in the British Empire.[97] Their success in taking part in building the Empire - from the prowess of the Highland regiments to the Scottish missionaries in the colonies - gave satisfaction as well as new style of identity to Scotland. The British Empire was also the Scottish Empire.

The transformation of Scotland from an appendage of Britain to the core of the Empire (at least in Scottish eyes) also changed the role of history. The pre-Union Scottish past dominated by tyrannical feudalism did not fit with the national image groped for by the Whig intellectuals who promised liberation and reform.[98] Ash calls this situation 'the death of Scottish History'.[99] Yet, did Scottish historiography truly come to an end, as the Whigs ascended to the power?[100] One problem is that Marinell Ash tries to see the whole Scottish historiography in the age of Scott and Tytler as outright Tory. Certainly, Tytler was snubbed in his job-searching and he even had difficulties in getting access to the state manuscripts in London, as he was not a Whig supporter. This does not suggest that his *History of Scotland* was put into oblivion, however: indeed a Whig John Burton would be influenced by a Tory Tytler in historiographical terms. Furthermore, the vast numbers of reprint and various editions of the books of Tytler and Burton indicate that the interest of reading public in Scottish history was far from a 'death'.[101] The historiography which denied the ancient liberty of Scotland was developed by the sociological Whig scholars such as

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[97] R. J. Finlay, 'Controlling the Past: Scottish Historiography and Scottish Identity in the 19th and 20th Centuries', *Scottish Affairs*, 9 (1994), p. 130.

[98] Ash, *Strange Death*, p. 149, Fry, 'Whig Interpretation of Scottish History', and Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp. 269-80.

[99] Ash, *Strange Death*, p. 149.

[100] Allan, *Virtue*, p. 234.

[101] The first edition of Patrick *History of Scotland*, for instance, was published between 1829 and 1843. This was followed by two other reprints (in 1841-43 and 1864-68) and another new edition in 1866. In the case of John Burton's *History of Scotland*, the original edition of which dealt with the period between 1689 and 1748 was published in 1853. The edition dealt with the period from the early days to 1748 was published in between 1867 and 1870, and the second edition in 1873. Furthermore, there were at least four different editions of Alexander Tytler's *Elements of History up* to 1866, including the one extended to the present, by Burton (1855).

William Robertson and John Millar.[102] Its theoretical framework was, in turn, inherited by 'Tory' historians such as Chalmers, Scott and Patrick Tytler, who fortified this by denouncing medieval Scotland for its feudal tyranny.

As we will see in the next section, this nature of Scotland's relations to Britain was one of the reasons which explains that the legacy of the Tory Scott and Tytler was inherited by the Whig historian Burton whose historical understanding was, in turn, in accordance with the bourgeoisie. In Scott's notion of Scottish nationhood and Tytler's historical understanding of Scottish history, the chapbook construction of Scottish liberty had no place to play. This situation was further consolidated by Burton's understanding of Scottish history whose historiographical approach was source-oriented. Like his predecessors, Burton did not find evidence to support the argument that the pre-Union Scottish nation was based on both civil and religious liberty.

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John Hill Burton was born in Aberdeenshire and studied at Edinburgh University. His educational background - reading moral philosophy and metaphysics and his legal training - is similar to those of the previous generation in the Bannatyne Club.[103] Moreover, his second wife Katherine was a daughter of Cosmo Innes, a *protégé* of Thomas Thomson, the Deputy Clerk Register. His style is dry and precise in detail with copious footnotes.[104] He emphasised accuracy and completeness which was

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[102] Kidd, 'The Canon of Patriotic Landmarks in Scottish History', *Scotlands* 1, pp. 5-6 and Fry, 'Whig Interpretation of Scottish History', p. 78.

[103] K. Burton, 'Memoir of J. H. Burton', in J. H. Burton, *The Book Hunter*, 1882 (ed.), p. xlii.

[104] His second wife commented that his defect was an 'almost entire want of imagination'. See ibid., pp. ci-cii. Garnet Richard, pointed out Burton's want of the elements such as the 'beauty and grandeur due to the history of great and romantic country', and then concluded that :
His style is always below the subject; there is total lack of harmony and unity; and the work altogether produces the impression of a series of clever and meritorious magazine articles _ To render due justice to Scottish history would indeed require the epic and dramatic genius of Scott, united with the research of a Burton and the intuition of a Carlyle _ (DNB, viii (1886), p. 11)

largely based on the fruits of labour of 'combative antiquaries of the previous generation'.[105]

His attitude to the feudal Scottish past were very similar to that of Scott and Tytler. Furthermore, Burton praises the Cromwellian Union as 'the sweeping away of the whole complex machinery of the feudal system in Scotland' as well as bringing in 'the beneficent influence likely to follow such an opening up in a period of profound peace'.[106] In his mind, Cromwellian Union was significant in terms of the progress of civilisation in Scotland, for the free trade brought by the centralised Protectorate Government encouraged the development of commerce which was an indispensable part of progress. In other words, the Cromwellian Union liberated Scotland for the first time from the tyrannical nightmare of feudalism. The section regarding the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in 1747 also exemplifies his views: the petty kingdoms of the regalities had been owned by lords 'attempting, with their irresponsible powers, to perpetrate some act of feudal vengeance under the form of justice'.[107] In the Highlands the case had been much more serious, for a chief 'exercised a despotism as irresponsible as any Turkish *pasha* and French *seigneur* of the old monarchy'.[108]

Burton differs from Scott on several important issues apart from Burton' 'dry' writing style. Firstly, he seems to be sceptical about the existence of bribery,

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As for other biographical records of Burton, see the obituaries in *The Scotsman* (11 August, 1881) and *Blackwood's Magazine*, 130 (1881), pp. 401-4.

[105] J. H. Burton, *The History of Scotland*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1873 (ed.), I, p. vi.

[106] Ibid., VII pp. 54 and 60.

[107] Ibid., VIII, pp. 502-3.

[108] Ibid., VIII, pp. 502-3 and 516-20. His view of the Highlands is quite similar to Scott's argument that there was the ethnological difference between the Celtic Highlands and the Saxon Lowlands. The typical case found in Burton's History *of Scotland* is as follows :

the most emphatic of all the social peculiarities of Scotland was exhibited to the world on the appearance of that army - strange, uncouth, and utterly foreign, as if it had come out of Central Asia - which marched into the cultivated plains and through the growing cities of England, and then marched back as mysteriously as thither. The strangeness of this people - their gaudy, un-British, and almost un-European costume - _ the preponderance of dark, oriental complexion - their foreign tongue - must have all told of an alien nation in race, customs, and common feeling _ But strange as the sight itself was to England, and the news of it to the rest of the world, it was yet a stranger thing to know that in Scotland it was a foreign element. (ibid., VIII, pp. 523-4).

which was strongly denounced in *The Tales*. After his detailed research into the allegations of bribery, Burton evinces his scepticism on the issue:

> The rational conclusion seems to be that the statesmen of the day, English and Scots, thought it a thing to be regretted that while so delicate a piece of statesmanship as the passing of the Scots Union Act was in hand, there were debts due by the Crown, and arrears of salary to public officers unsatisfied; and that the transfer of money from the English to the Scots exchequer was a temporary loan for the removal of these causes of discontent.[109]

However, this does not mean that Burton assumed that the Union was carried under the spirit of disinterested and clean statesmanship:

> It is more consistent with truth to view them in general as alighting on men with settled principle, as competitors with each other for leadership, emoluments, and honours.[110]

While aware of the opportunism and selfishness of some statesmen, Burton tried not to give his readers the smeared image of the Union. For him, the Union was 'the happy climax of the great romance of our history'.[111]

The second point on which Burton differs from Scott, is that while the latter described the opposition to the proposed Union in 1706 as a unanimous popular outburst, Burton saw it as fragile, sectarian and ephemeral in nature. Popular opposition itself was a 'novelty in Scotland' and had a 'very powerful and menacing appearance', but this opposition consisted mainly of the youth of society whose more violent movements were weathered by either governmental infiltration or the vacillation of the Duke of Hamilton. Furthermore, the opposition front was fragile: leaders such as Fletcher and Lord Belhaven were not committed to the Jacobite cause while the Jacobites were not prepared to support a parliamentary succession asserted by Fletcher and Belhaven.[112]

Comparing this second point with the chapbooks of both radical patriotism

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[109] Ibid., VIII, p. 185.
[110] Ibid., VIII, p. 80.
[111] Ibid., VIII, p. 2.
[112] Ibid., VIII, PP. 176-7.

and popular loyalism, another difference in terms of the notion of nationhood becomes clear. Regardless of whether the popular protest in 1706 were significant or not, both Scott and Burton do not find that the fate of Scotland was in the hands of the nation but rather those of the politicians who negotiated the Treaty with their English counterparts. For them, such an issue of popular protest seem to be irrelevant to define the nature of Scottish nationhood. On the other hand, despite the division caused by their political stance, the construction of nationhood in the chapbooks of radical patriotism and loyalism were based on the participation of the nation in deciding her fate through the act of defending religious liberty from tyranny or of joining in the Volunteers to fight against tyrannical France. Likewise, the victory of Bannockburn was brought by the sudden emergence of the Scottish servants on the battle field, and William Wallace became the hero in these chapbooks, because he was part of and indeed embodiment such a nation. Here a question arises. Who subscribed to Burton's historical understanding, and for what purpose?

The two differences between Scott and Burton outlined above are important in understanding the construction of Scottish nationhood of the mid-nineteenth century. There is no ambivalence in Burton's attitudes to the Union such as Scott showed in his later works. In Burton's mind, the Union was the solution to avoid the woeful prospect of war between Scotland and England.[113] His conviction that the loss of national pride did not come before the grand design of the Union, was shared by his readers. Moreover, the treaty was intended to keep Scotland from 'wanton innovations, for the sake of mere conformity with England'.[114] On the other hand, Burton was not a mere eulogist of the Treaty of Union.[115] The heritable jurisdictions - the symbol of the Scottish feudal past - were kept as 'rights of property' by the treaty. In short, the Union of 1707 partly regained its status as a national milestone in

[113] Ibid., VIII, pp. 1-4.
[114] Ibid., VIII, p. 134.
[115] Ibid., VIII, pp. 134, 502-3, 516-20.

the progress to the civilised British present. In this sense, it appears that Burton succeeded in writing a history of the Union, which was acceptable to Scoto-British patriotism in the mid-century.

Mid-nineteenth century Scottish patriotism, embodied in the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NASVR, found in 1852) showed little interest in complete independence from the United Kingdom.[116] Instead, it inclined to oppose the violation of the Union by England in terms of either actual issues or its spirit.[117] In the former case, the opposition to the proposal to abolish small bank notes in 1826 became a model to the nationalists in the next generation. This type of grievance includes centralisation, the unfair distribution of public revenue and under-representation in parliament, which were related to the everyday business of governing the Scottish nation, and were the concerns for the urban bourgeoisie who were in charge of this task.[118] This was well illustrated in an *Address to the People of Scotland* in 1853:

> The union was a 'legislative Union not, but an Administrative Union'.[119]

In the latter case, the violation against the spirit of the Union, defined as the equal status of Scotland and England, was expressed by means of the petition against the heraldic irregularity in 1852 and the movements against the confused usage of the word 'England' for Britain or even for Scotland.

For those movements, the historiography of Burton was quite useful. The anonymous article 'Scotland since the Union' published in 1853 in *Blackwood's Magazine* is a good example. [120] The author firstly praises Burton's impartiality

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[116] Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, chapter 6.
[117] H. J. Hannam, 'Mid-century Scottish Nationalism, romantic and radical', in R. Robson (ed.), *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain: Essays in Honour of George Hay Forbes* (London, 1967), p. 151.Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, pp. 143-6.
[118] Ibid, pp.64-132.
[119] quoted in Hannam, 'Mid-century Scottish Naionlaism', p. 166.
[120] Anonymous, 'Scotland since the Union', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1853, pp. 263-83. According to Hannam, this article was written by William E Aytoun Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Edinburgh.

despite Burton's prejudice against the Highlands, he then describes the century following the Union of the Crowns as a history of inequality and unfairness which would render the Union of 1707 politically inevitable.[121] According to the author, the Union was 'carried through on terms of perfect equality', so that he did not regard the Union as a loss of nationality. However, from the start, the English saw the Union as a simple means of annexing Scotland to England, and to consider Scotland 'in the light of a subsidiary province'.[122] Thus, Burton's view on the Union as a political solution to conserve peace and national distinction is a major prop for the arguments presented by the NAVSR.

The connection between Burton and mid-nineteenth century nationalism seems to show the content of Scottish national identity of the day: Scotland within Great Britain. And as Graeme Morton points out, such national identity was constructed by the bourgeoisie for the better management of Scotland. Burton provided these 'nationalists' with the historical evidence to exemplify their cause. Burton also offered reassurance over trusting the Union, once doubted by Scott. What Burton did was to write an authentic and academic history, which could provide this particular configuration of patriotic aspiration with valuable evidence.[123] Scott salvaged the Scottish past from the hands of the Enlightenment historians who all but denied its value, as the Scottish past was irrelevant in their account of

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[121] Ibid., pp. 264-7. The author considerably praised Burton's impartiality:
Mr Burton _ has exhibited, throughout his work, very little of the partisan. In this respect he is entitled to much credit - the more so perhaps, as, had he chosen to adopt the other course, he might have pleaded the example of a brilliant living authority, who is regarded as a fashioner than as a truthful exponent of history _ In Scotland, religious and political zeal run constantly into extremes, so that zealotry perhaps is the more appropriate term _ He has diligently collected facts from every available source, but he has not allowed himself to be swayed by the deductions of previous writers. (ibid., p. 264.)
If we consider the fact that Burton was a Whig sympathiser, the reviewer's praise is notable. Similar praise is also found in the review article of Burton's History of Scotland in *The Edinburgh Review*:
Mr Burton's pictures, though uniformly executed in sober tone, without aiming at the florid graces sometimes lavished upon historical canvasses, and, although occasionally wanting in careful finish, are fair representations of the topics he takes in hand, the result of faithful study and research into their real bearings. (*The Edinburgh Review,* 100 (1854), p. 488.)
[122] Ibid., p. 273.
[123] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, pp. 272-5 and 'Canon', p. 7.

universal history, history as the account of the moral progress of human beings. Instead, Scott adored the Scottish past, as he adored the beautiful scenery of his native Borders. Burton, in turn, attempted to elaborate and correct the vision of Scott by pursuing source-based 'objectivity' in exchange for the 'artistic element' of Scott. In Scotto-British nationalist historiography, pre-Union historical icons lost their ideological values as symbol of Scottish independent state. Although the monument of Sir William Wallace outwardly symbolised a Scottish independent past, the motivation behind the Wallace monument did not lie in encouraging people to follow what Sir William did.[124] Similarly, the arguments of Andrew Melville and George Buchanan were valued as historical facts, but unlike the Scottish chapbooks people did not use the ideas of these thinkers in order to assert their political right.[125] In Burton's *History of Scotland*, historical narrative was the allegedly accurate and objective description of the past. Burton's narrative was different from either the Enlightenment historians who added a didactic element or Scott who liberated history from didactic allegory but added the aesthetic value. The nationalists now had an academic history to support their ideological and political claims.

By the time of Burton's death in 1881, the Scottish past had almost lost its connection with the idea of nationhood in the sense of a full independent nation-state, as national identity focused on protection of Scottish nation within the British Empire and federal devolution of power from Westminster.[126] Scottishness was redefined as its co-existence with Britain and as the legitimisation of the Scottish bourgeoisie to govern Scotland. And the historiography provided this particular configuration of Scottishness with valuable evidence. Since the discourse of Scottish history became compatible with the British present, Scottish history was partly transformed from a means of political discussion, as was the case of the chapbooks

[124] Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, pp. 176-84.
[125] Kidd, 'Canon', p. 7 and Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, pp. 99-105, 116.
[126] Recent research shows that in Scotland the notion of nationhood did not draw on the creation of national history, as some countries on the Continent such as Hungary did. See, Finlay, 'Controlling the Past' pp. 127-31 and Paterson, *Autonomy of Scotland*, pp. 59-65.

of Wallace and Bruce, the Covenanters and loyalism, to an object of entertainment. This phenomenon - history as an entertainment and the commercialisation of the past - was encouraged by the growth of the bourgeoisie, who could afford to enjoy their spare time in reading historical books and travelling to historical sites. In short, the neutralisation and beautification of the Scottish past coincided with the birth of public 'leisure'. The number of published books and magazines concerning the history of Scotland exemplifies this phenomenon.[127]

Those phenomena in Scottish historiography - the virtual absence of ancient liberty in terms of either the Scottish Whig or Jacobite historiography and its increasing vulgarisation and neutralisation - have their roots in the movement as well as in the politics of the mid-nineteenth century. As we will see in chapter seven, the mid-nineteenth century saw a proliferation of chapbooks on the romanticised notion of Scottishness. In the eyes of the Scottish bourgeoisie, Scottish national identity became to be constructed whereby it was unnecessary to demand an 'ancient liberty' to maintain Scottish nationhood, because such a construction of Scottishness was irrelevant and unnecessary for them to govern Scotland. In accordance with this trend, the historiography changed its content and defined the Union of 1707 as the Scottish nation's safety-valve. Meanwhile the process of creating academic history left little space for literature, and this process had begun soon after the death of Scott.[128] The emotional and sentimental aspects of the Union in Scott - 'the end of an auld sang' - no longer existed in the academic history of Scotland. For 'the end of an auld song' was not a 'history' but a 'legend', as was the case of Scottish chapbooks observed by William Motherwell. The Union of 1707 in 'history' was the opening of the progress and prosperity of Scotland in Great Britain, which was what the readers of Scottish history books wanted to hear.

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[127] N. Morgan and R. Trainor, 'The Dominant Class, in W. H. Fraser and J. Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland vol. 2: 1830-1914*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 124-5.

[128] Analysis of ideology separated as an independent academic subject, *political science*, from the domain of history.

In the next chapter, the question of how this redefined image of Scottishness created through the works of Scott and the academic history was 'visualised' by the artists and 'institutionalise' by the Scottish bourgeoisie will be tacked by analysing the activities of the Royal Association of Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland. By taking such an approach, that chapter will also demonstrate that national identity, like other identities, was a fluid concept and one to be shown by analysing the constant process of definition and re-definition according to its subscribers and its particular historical circumstances.

Chapter 6

Beautified but neutralised?

Nationhood in the nineteenth-century Scottish engravings

1

In the previous chapter it was argued that the notion of nation constructed in contemporary 'high' literature, mainly represented by Walter Scott's *Waverly* novels and in Scotland's academic historiography, was based on the dichotomy of Scotland versus other nations in the world. This is a major difference from what had been the commonly used notion of 'nation' within Scottish chapbooks. Not only Scott's historical novels, but also an 'academic' historiography accepted the political situation Scotland was placed in: the Union of 1707 and subsequently Scotland as a 'stateless-nation'. However, as Scott's passionate plea - *Malachi Malagrowther* (1826) - and the activity of the NAVSR (1852-56) in the mid-nineteenth century suggest, this acceptance did not necessarily signify that the Scottish elite's manifesto was to anglicise Scotland and/or to become an English province. In the logic of the Whig elites, if Scotland lost its sovereignty in 1707, so did England. Both nations became the essential part of the British Empire as equal and fair partners. It is this logic in which the notion of North Britishness should be understood. In this sense, this use of the language of nation in the literatures used in the previous chapter became, arguably, the main ideological and intellectual backbone to what Morton calls

Unionist-Nationalism - the middle class patriotic expression during the latter half of nineteenth century.

This positive view of the Union of 1707 was therefore not confined to the readers of Scott's novels and Patrick Tytler's *History of Scotland.* As we have seen in chapter three, it is questionable if Scottish radicals in the 1790s - such as *The United Scotsmen* - had a desire to go further than to demand electoral reforms. Scottish radicals were not necessarily Scottish republicans.[1]

The aim of this chapter, then, is to analyse how the romantic notion of Scottishness proposed by Scott and authenticated by contemporary Scottish historians came to be more common and 'public' as well as being consolidated through the engravings distributed mainly by the Royal Association of Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland (RAPFAS). Since the way to understand how these engravings can be 'read' contains some similarities and differences from literary sources, methodological issues on understanding visual sources are explained here in this first section. Here, two approaches to understanding visual arts are suggested, both of which are inseparable in nature. The first approach is to understand the visual arts by analysing visual language such as painting style and the meaning coded to a particular detail. However, this approach reveals but a part of the story. An additional technique is to explore and analyse the outer contexts to the visual arts, that is, to find the social and cultural background to the art. This seems to have a particular significance to the engravings in question, as most of the engravings

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[1] See chapter three.

analysed here take their themes from Scott's *Waverley* novels, Robert Burns' poetry and other aspects of Scottish history. Thus, in order to decipher their meaning, most of these engravings depend more on the outer contexts than other genre engravings. In the case of those engravings whose theme is taken from literature, the engraver demonstrates the content of literature as well as how they understood this literature. Thus, what these engravings tell us is the original story of the literature and the engraver's mental world (or of that of his/her patron). This point is to be demonstrated by analysing a series of engravings by 'reading' their visual language and analysing what external factors influenced the configuration of the meaning of these engravings.

In this study, 133 examples of engravings distributed by the RAPFAS were analysed thematically, in order to reveal the visual language employed to express Scottish nationhood visually. In this process, the 'internal' understanding of the engravings is complimented by analysing the activities of the RAPFAS, which will deepen our understanding of how the mid-century Scottish bourgeoisie, the main subscribers of the RAPFAS, wanted to visualise their nationhood.

2

The main sources in this chapter are the series of engravings printed in the mid-nineteenth century for the Royal Association of Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland (RAPFAS). While some of them are reproduced from paintings, many

engravings were newly produced for the series. The 133 examples found at the National Library of Scotland were published between 1849 and 1889.[2] Out of this list, 81 engravings took their themes from Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* Novels. While 32 engravings are concerned with Robert Burns' poems, there are 11 engravings of Scottish landscapes including the six paintings by the Rev John Thomson of Duddingston, the Scottish painter and a friend of Scott, four engravings of non-Scottish landscapes and, finally, there are five other engravings mainly of figures.[3] One point immediately notable is that these engravings predominantly take their themes from Scotland - landscape, literature and history. If these engravings are taken as the visual representation of the image of Scottishness, looking into them will help to understand the image of Scotland nurtured by contemporary artists. In the meantime, this will reveal how Scotland was represented (or rather how people

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[2] The list of the engraving used in this study is as follows:
Assorted Engravings Eleven Engravings (1849)
Auld Lang Syne By Robert Burns Illustrated by George Harvey (1859)
The Cottar's Saturday Night Illustrated by John Faed (1853)
Illustrated Songs of Robert Burns with a portrait after the original by Alexander Nasmyth (1861)
Tam o' shanter by Robert Burns (1855)
The Soldier's Return by Robert Burns Illustrated by John Faed R.S.A. (1857)
Six Engravings for the members of the Royal Association for Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland (1863)
Waverley (1865)
Guy Mannering (1866)
The Antiquary (1867)
Rob Roy (1868)
The Lady of the Lake (1868)
Old Mortality (1869)
Pirate (1871)
The Heart of Midlothian (1873)
The Bride of Lammermoor (1875)
Redgauntlet (1876)
Legend of Montrose (1878)
The fair maid of Perth (1878)
St Ronan's well (1882)
There is another set of six engravings of the portraits originally painted by the eighteenth-century Scottish painter Henry Raeburn.

[3] In this chapter, for the practical reason, figures are separated from portraits. Figures can be defined as

desired to represent Scotland) as well as what kind of image was suited to the taste of the nineteenth century Scottish people. However, how could and indeed should these be understood?

Using visual material for historical studies has become fashionable in recent years. There are some major works using the technique formerly employed by art historians or the merging of these two disciplines into one.[4] Historians' attempt to use visual sources currently take two approaches.

One is using historical knowledge in order to analyse the visual sources in the past. The Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg made a unique attempt to interpret the works of the fifteenth century Italian artist Piero della Francesca's works by employing historical discipline: the extensive perusal of written sources concerning the artist and his relations with clients.[5] He also interpreted the paintings from the direction of the political and religious history of fifteenth-century Italy. His comprehensive research is concentrated on the motivations behind the paintings, those of the artist and of his clients, which are revealed through some details of the paintings and written sources such as correspondence and ecclesiastical papers. Ginzburg's main concern, here, is to clarify the vagueness of methodology employed by art historians from the previous generation in order to determine the date and motivation of paintings. According to him, the 'relative' dating system, speculating

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the engravings dealing with human characters with some activity or episodes.

[4] On the issue of the adaptability of art history to historical studies, see T. K. Rabb and J. Brown, 'The evidence of Art Images and Meaning in History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17 (1986). Francis Haskell's work comprehensively explains the historiography of Western art history. F. Haskell, *History and its Images Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven, 1995)

[5] C. Ginzburg, *The enigma of Piero: Piero della Francesca; The baptism, The Arezzo cycle, The*

the date of a painting by comparing styles employed by a painter, often employed by his predecessors is not reliable, as it, in large part, relies on speculation. Rather, Ginzburg sees the paintings as the outcome of the negotiation between the painter's artistic skill and his clients' motivation to commission. His approach to the analysis of paintings was a means to find a clue for why the painter 'had' to draw a particular detail in a particular manner. Thus, what Ginzburg attempted was to write the history of Piero della Francesca's three works as well as the 'wider' history: ecclesiastical politics in the fifteenth century and the formation of lay political networks in mid-Italy. The paintings and their outer contexts in Ginzburg's work mutually complement: while studying extraneous factors reveal messages hidden in the paintings, the intensive reading of the paintings plays a major role in understanding the socio-political milieu of fifteenth century Italy.[6]

The second approach to visual sources is use them in order to obtain a deeper understanding of historical phenomena. Bob Scribner for example uses religious printings during the German Reformation era to study the nature of religious propaganda.[7] The significance of Scribner's work could be found in not only that he intended to introduce visual materials for serious historical studies, which was not a

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flagellation, M. Ryle and K. Soper (trans.) (London, 1985)

[6] Takashi Nagasawa, the Japanese academic, on the other hand criticises Ginzburg. As the contracts between the artist and his clients as well as a more concrete source to reveal the painter's motivation of these three paintings, such as his diary, are not found, Ginzburg after all has to resort to the iconographical interpretation which leaves uncertainty. Nagasawa, 'Gazou shiryou wo yomitoku - Ginzburg no kaisyakuwo megutte' ['Reading and interpreting visual source - on Ginzburg's interpretation'], *Sicho* [*Historical Wave*], 33 (1992). Mariko Kusumoto, the Japanese art historian, also criticises Ginzburg of his lack of study on the stylistics of paintings. M. Kusumoto, 'Image siryouwo yomitoku rekishikahe - Nihon bijutsushino tachibakra' ['For historians reading image sources- from the standpoint of Japanese art history'], *Shicho*, 33 (1992).

[7] R. W. Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk, Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford,1994 ed.)

regular practice until the 1980s, but that he attempted to employ more systematic analysis of visual sources.

Scribner starts with the critical reading of Erwin Panofsky, who founded 'iconography' in order to analyse art in its historical context.[8] Panofsky's own theory of iconography is developed in three stages.[9] According to him, the critic should start with identifying what is drawn in the painting by analysing three elements which form the painting: namely what the painted objects represent; what relationship these objects mutually retain in the painting; and what expressions such as the posture of sadness these objects are given to assume by the artist. This is followed by the 'iconographical' stage in which the student should identify what particular themes in the painting are related to the artistic and stylistic conventions which are historically constructed. For example, if a male figure is placed in a diagonal cross, that signifies St Andrew. In the final stage which is called 'iconology' by Panofsky, the student should identify what other ideas such as philosophical and political which might have influenced the painting.

For Scribner, such methodology is 'not entirely unproblematic or free from ambiguity', as the three stages prescribed by Panofsky are not separable.[10] Scribner also criticises Panofsky's inclination to the classical Greek and Roman tradition at the 'iconological' stage. Instead, he introduces the 'semiotic approach' based on Ferdinand de Saussure's structural analysis of language. According to Saussure, the

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[8] Ibid., p. xvi-xvii.
[9] E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the visual arts* (Harmondsworth, 1970).
[10] Ibid., p. xvi.

system of signs functions like 'a natural language' with its grammar and syntax. In other words, each utterance or speech is carefully selected and controlled by linguistic structure through syntax and grammar.[11] In Scribner's study, this argument is applied to an artist's each work and his repertoire. An artist completes one work through choosing what to express. This process of determining a particular detail for their work is not executed haphazardly but systematically following grammar and syntax of artistic expression which has its own logics and structure. Thus Scribner finds striking similarities between each artistic work in relation to an artist's repertoire, just as that of speech to language in Saussure's thesis: 'the important distinction between the potential and actual use of signs'.[12] If one work source is a 'speech' or 'speeches' chosen by an artist from a set of various 'languages', and the study of visual evidence is to explore 'languages' (Scribner uses the term 'paradigm') which are operated by their own grammars and syntax.

Scribner's proposal for a systematic analysis of visual sources matches some art historians' pleas for more comprehensive investigation into the evidence before using it for historical study.[13] Kaori Chino, a Japanese art historian, for instance, offers three essential points in analysing painting including 'story-painting':

> 1. In the study of 'story-painting', it is essential not to confound the analysis of the story accompanied with that of painting, as these two have their own different stylistic traditions.
> 2. The translation from an image to a word should not be regarded as the unique and absolute interpretation: the title of a painting is not the exact textual data but only one interpretation.

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[11] Ibid., pp. xvii-xviii.
[12] Ibid., pp.xix and 9-10.
[13] M. Inamoto, 'For historians reading image sources', p. 69.

3. The image depicted in visual evidence is not necessarily a representation of the reality of social life of the time. A painter can see the reality through the filter of the images created by his/her predecessors.[14]

Chino's first point seems to have a particular relevance to this chapter. As we will see in the following sections, the engraved illustrations of Burns' and Scott's texts which were produced by the RAPFAS seem to have a different meaning from what can be read from the 'original' texts. Such 'discrepancy' in the meanings is partly derived from different stylistic conventions with which textual sources and visual sources are based on. However, Chino's theorisation of the interpretation of story paintings seems to explain only the part of the 'discrepancy' of the meaning between the textual sources and the visual sources.

What lacks in Chino's formulation of an interpretive strategy is that she does not take into account how the viewers make sense of both textual and visual sources. As will be discussed below, the act of consumption is not passive but active. Such a view is further supported by what we have seen in the previous chapters. While chapbooks and the texts of Scott and the nineteenth-century Scottish historians provided their readers with their version of the image of Scottishness, the way in which such images were understood was open to the readers of those texts. In other

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[14] K. Chino, 'Kotobato image -monogatari-kaiga kenkyu no genzai' ('Words and images –the current state of the study of story-painting'), *Rettono bunkashi*, (The cultural history of the archipelagos), p. 7, (1990). Here, it should be also noticed that this type of visual expression has multiple layers of meanings. While one engraving itself could be understood in one way, the same engraving could be interpreted in a completely different way when it is seen as one painting in a series of engravings. This type of serial visual expression, so to speak, should be analysed as itself but also a part of visual narrative told through a series of visual expression. The Japanese academic, Fumihiko Gomi, points out this significance of sequence and narrative in a serial visual expression in his study of Japanese medieval picturescrolls. F. Goi, *Emaki de yomu chuusei (Reading medieval Japan through picture rolls)*, (Tokyo, 1994).

words, the images of Scottishness in textual sources were constructed through the relationship between a text and its reader. As we have seen in chapter two, a story is told/ constructed according to the set of rules which is shared by both story-teller and their audience. This point seems to be also applicable to the relationship between the engravings distributed by the RAPFAS and the subscribers of the engravings. In other words, the image of Scottishness drawn from the RAPFAS engravings was in fact formed through the relationship between the engravings and the members of the RAPFAS.

The process of forming the image of Scottishness in the RAPFAS engravings is, accordingly, explained in the following terms. Firstly, an image of Scottishness was constructed in textual sources, such as the literary works of Burns and Scott, and based on their perception of Scottishness and that of their readers. This image was also configured within a particular social context. This image of Scottishness based on the literary texts was, in turn, visualised by the engraver who received the commission from the RAPFAS within the stylistic convention of the period given. The artists of the engravings also obtained their understanding of the image of Scottishness which was moored in a particular social context. Such a visualised image of Scottishness was also in accordance with the taste of the members of the RAPFAS, who determined what kind of image of Scottishness should be visualised by which artist through the committee of management. Their perception of Scottishness was, in turn, couched in a social context. As the diagram below shows, the content of Scottishness was defined and re-defined through each production of

textual and visual sources and their relations to the 'consumers' of each sources. The process outlined above is summarised in the following diagram.

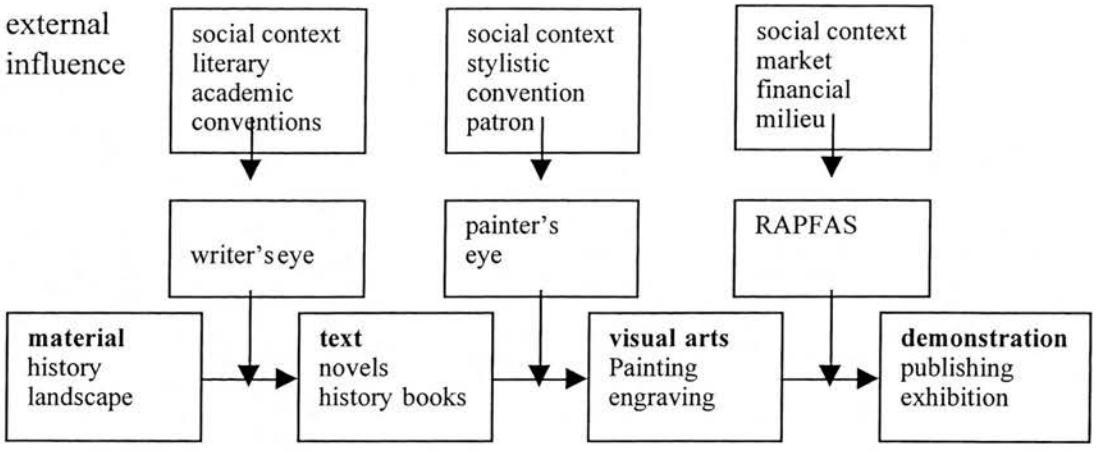

Diagram 6-1:
The process of defining and re-defining nationhood through written and visual narratives

As this diagram demonstrates, the image of Scottishness was defined and re-defined through the media and their relationship to the author and their outer context such as the consumers' social context and stylistic conventions of each media.

By applying this strategy of interpreting the visual sources to the RAPFAS engravings, it seems that it was this mixture of these three elements—a popular text, stylistic convention and social context—which could provide Scottishness with a powerful and multi-layered narrative. If so, what were the common stylistic conventions that would illustrate Scottishness so 'colourfully' as found in the following sections? This will be explained by firstly extracting some repeatedly used themes from these engravings. Such an approach will provide the means to look into the artistic taste of the mid- nineteenth century Scottish people.

3

Among the 133 engravings, there are five major repeated and popular themes which seemed to be drawn from the contemporary stylistic conventions: Scottish scenery, the Highlanders, an isolated castle under storm, 'cultivated' scenery (i.e. baronial castle), and social observation. This section will analyse these five thematic features separately in order to understand to what extent these themes were influenced by either stylistic conventions or social contexts (in other words popular demands).

Scottish landscape seems to be one of the most popular thematic features among modern Scottish paintings. Apart from 32 engravings taking their themes from Robert Burns' poetry and 78 inspired by Walter Scott's novels, there are 23 engravings which are related to neither Burns nor Scott. There are only 9 engravings taken from non-Scottish themes.[15] Moreover, although some of Burns and Scott's engravings do not include any landscape, most of them include at least some Scottish scenery as a backdrop or as the main theme. Usually, the scene takes a form of mountainous terrain and loch surrounded by rocky mountains (plate 6-1). Many engravings have irregularly shaped trees in the foreground, which in some cases occupy significant space (plate 6-2). A castle is found in some cases (plate 6-3).

Another detail noteworthy in the engravings is the sky. It is not overcast but not exactly clear, and the sun shines through clouds while a veil of mist obscures part of the mountains in most cases. From these details, images are created of the

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[15] These nine engravings could be categorised into four themes: English landscape (two engravings); Italian landscape (two engravings); non-specified landscape (four engravings); and stplate-life (one engraving). It is worth-noting that even including six engravings of Henry Raeburn's Scottish

unspoiled and dynamic diversity the nature provides. Barren and stony mountains are normally complemented by loch and trees. On the other hand, the image of desolation and solitude evoked by these barren mountains is further intensified by these trees. Clouds and mist covering the backdrop (mountains) arguably give some sort of mystic impression as well.

Why was the Scottish landscape represented in this manner amongst the RAPFAS engravings? And, in the first place, why was this series of scenery chosen to represent the Scottish landscape? These questions can be partly explained through tracing how the stylistic conventions of the visual arts were related to other contemporary ideas prevalent in Scottish culture.

It was, in retrospect, this mixture of harsh, unspoiled and mystic imagery which gave the people in the nineteenth-century an appreciation of the Scottish landscape that was inspired by the theory of 'picturesque'.[16] Previously, eighteenth-century travellers to Scotland, especially to the Highlands, did not appreciate the beauty of her landscapes, and most of those who travelled there were for business.[17] They preferred some exotic landscapes such as Italy: this was the time of *grand tour*. Throughout the eighteenth century Scotland came to whet the curiosity of people outside the nation, as they regarded her, especially the Highlands, as one of the last

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portraits, only seven are non-Landscape engravings.

[16] B. P. Kennedy, 'The Traditional Irish Thatched House: Image and Reality, 1793-1993, pp. 165-66 in Dalsimer *Visualizing Ireland.* As for the influence of the theory on Scott's Waverley can be found in A. M. Ross, '"Waverley" and the picturesque' in Alexander and Hewitt, *Scott and His Influence.* Ross makes an attempt to explain how Scott applied the theory to things other than landscape. In this view, what Scott tried in *Waverley* and to some extent in other novels is to show an integrated scenery of picturesque through the interactions of landscape and characters and narrative.

[17] J. R. Gold and M. *Gold, Imaging Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750*, (Aldershot, 1995) pp. 41-43. A. G. Williams & A *Brown ,The Bigger Picture A*

places in the "old" world to find the residue of primitive life in their eyes. This curiosity with the so-called primitive life was further flared by the popularity of James Macpherson's newly discovered *Ossian* and the following quest for its origin.[18] It could be argued that their quest was motivated by not only their desire to establish the authenticity of *Ossian* but also the contemporary's aspiration for simplicity, one their ancestors had possessed but lost in the process of modernisation. In particular, they noticed that it was Scotland where the ideas of progress and improvement were put into practice most acutely.[19] The 'Enlightened' landlord plans such as agricultural reforms and planned villages were introduced in the Highlands in exchange for dislocating the native's noble and primitive lifestyle.[20] Or so they thought. This rather sentimental view of recent Highland history was further fortified by the re-produced story of the Jacobites, in particular Walter Scott's version as has been discussed in the previous chapter. In this sense, the popularity of *Ossian* and the Highlands and the inhabitants there was the other side of the Enlightenment movement in which people could believe in 'progress'.[21]

History of Scottish Art (London, 1993) p. 118.

[18] K. Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 71-82, M. G. H. Pittock, 'Forging North Briain in the Age of Macpherson', *Edinburgh Review*, 93 (1995), idem., *The Invention of Scottland*, pp. 73-78, idem., *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, pp. 178-86, Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, pp. 22-23 and A. Hook, 'Scotland and Romanticism: The International Scene', in idem. (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature*, pp. 313-16.

[19] Trumpner, *Bardic Nationalism*, p. 69.

[20] C. Withers, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds.) *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 147. As for the intellectual background to the planned village, see T. C. Smout, 'The landowners and the planned village', in N. T. Philipson and R. Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (Edinburgh, 1970).

[21] L. Leneman, 'A New Role for a Lost Cause', in L. Leneman (ed.), *Perspectives in Scottish Social History, Essays in Honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988), p.112, and C. Withers,'Hitorical Creation', pp. 151-52

The radical change in people's taste of landscape, however, came as the aesthetic preference of beauty shifted from the beauty cultivated and modified to the unspoiled nature of beauty based on the concept of picturesque. According to this theory, beautiful landscape was defined as:

> ...the mixed modes of the picturesque- the irregular groupings, rough surfaces, calculated intricacies, broken areas of light, shade, colour, massed dispositions, striking peculiarities, arresting contrasts, and complex values.[22]

It was Walter Scott who amongst Scottish intelligentsia strenuously advocated this theory in his novels as well as articles for journals like *Quarterly Review*:

> Scott did more than anyone else to replace the eighteenth-century view of landscape with the landscape of association, giving substance to the theories of [Archibald: the Scottish painter] Alison and creating a situation in which the wild, the bleak and the barren could be preferred to the cultivated picturesque.[23]

Indeed, his early poem *The Lady of the Lake* opened people's eye to the places such as Loch Katrine and the Trossachs, where they flocked to go and attempted to trace the origin of inspiration for Scott. [24] The engravings accompanied by Scott's verse illustrate how the painters visualised Scott's affection for these places as well as

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[22] M. Allentuck, 'Scott and the Picturesque: Afforesation and History', in A. Bell (ed.), *Sir Walter Scott Bicentenary Conference* (Edinburgh, 1973), p.189.

[23] D. Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age* (Oxford, 1986), p.150. Allentuck, op. cit., p.188.

[24] H. I. & A. Stevens, *Scott & Scotland, or Historical and Romantic illustrations of Scottish with Thirty-one beautiful steel engravings* (London, 1845) is one of the good examples for how people reacted to The Scott's creation of the Scottish landscapes as picturesque:
The country which we had to travel over is Scotland- a land, though it boasts not of haunted and classic spots which give grandeur and interest to descriptions of Greece and Rome, is rich in all that makes up beauty and wonder in a landscape: her mountains and her valleys- her fields and forests- her torrents and lakes- all have in them a grandeur and sublimity, and she may claim a rivalry with any other of the countries of our wide and beautiful world. And, moreover- and this one thing is in itself sufficient to render Scotland an interesting country- this is the land which gave birth to SCOTT! ... For there is in genius a something- one can not well say what- which makes all around how down with a sort of homage: and thus the spots which the poet has enshrined in verse, and the events which the romancer has immortalised by weaving round them the silken web of fable and fiction, become hallowed places and sacred things, which fire genius and call forth a tear from the eye of pity. (p. v)

their acceptance of the picturesque.[25] Scott's painting, for instance, inspired artists such as Horatio McCulloch to paint *Loch Katrine* (plate 6-4). He even designed the garden of his newly acquired residence at Abbotsford in accordance with the theory. Thus, the Scottish landscape was transformed into the image of purity and naturalness, valuable as a form of beauty, to the contemporaries, while the landscape was utterly depoliticised as Highlanders and Jacobites.

People's fascination with nostalgia for a lost simplistic and primitive lifestyle also fuelled their interest in the inhabitants of the Highlands. In the early nineteenth century, a touch of tragedy was added to the image of the Highlanders- simple but hardy people with their military skill wearing kilts. The story of the Prince Charles and his Highland followers was much suited to the popular desire to describe the Highlanders as a race at the bay of extinction: their language, custom and polity (clan) had been already in the process of anglicisation, ironically enough because of their rebellion against the Hanoverian monarch and the subsequent defeat at Culloden. This added story of Charles and the Highlanders was also able and convenient to develop people's conviction in the 'destiny of history' or the universal law of history. In particular, for the Enlightenment historians the history of their country

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[25]The accompanied verse for Loch Katrine, for instance, succeeds in achieving the connection between the landscape and its beautified image:
The summer dawn's reflected hue
To purple changed Loch Katrine blue;
Mildly and soft the western breeze
Just kiss'd the Lake, just stirr'd the trees,
And the pleased lake, like maiden coy,
Trembled but dimpled not for joy;
The mountain-shadows on her breast
Were neither broken or nor at rest;
In bright uncertainty they lie,
Like future joys to Fancy's eye. (canto III stanza II accompanied with '*Loch Katrine*, painted by Peter

was irreversible process of progress and sophistication, as we have see in the previous chapter.

The engravings here illustrate this transformation of the rôle played by Highlanders. Sir William Allan's 'The Gatherings of the Clans' is the combination of the picturesque landscape of the Highlands - uncultivated and mystic - and the military prowess of the tartan clad Highlanders.[26] This painting describes the 'clans' by employing pipers and soldiers with circular shields, both of which are closely associated with an image of the Highland soldier. And they are probably from the pre-1746 period as their dress manner is different from the Highland soldier found in the illustration of Robert Burns' 'The Soldier's Return', who wears the emblem of the Royal Army (plate 6-5). The Highlander as military expert was transformed to the perception of the Scots as whole. In this engraving, the past Highland military prowess is firmly couched in the present of the British Empire.[27]

Other engravings show how the physical appearance of the male Highlanders was defined. Apart from wearing the kilt, all Highlanders here are well-built, have black wavy hair with moustache and beard: the symbol of coarse and simplistic masculinity.[28] In W. E. Lockhart's *Annot Lyle, Lord Monteith and Allan McAulay*,

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Graham A. R.S.A.' in *The Lady of the Lake* (Edinburgh, 1868)

[26] Sir William Allan, 'The Gathering of the Clans' in *Six Engravings* (Edinburgh, 1849)

[27] As for the role of the Highlanders in British military campaign, see Colley, *Britons*, pp. 111, 125 and 345.The RAPFAS engravings also contains other engravings which can be interpreted as the interplay of Scottish idyll and the British Empire. In the illustrations of Burns' 'Auld Lang Syne', while Burns' original poetry is concerned with joy of reunion with the long lost friend, but the poetry does not specify what kind of life these two people spent, the lives of these two men were represented by those of 'typical' lives in the British Empire, a wander and a sea-man, in George Harvey's engravings. The publication of this series of engravings roughly coincided with the successful expedition led by David Livingstone in Africa in 1840-3.

[28] Ross, '"Waverley" and the picturesque'.

MacAulay's Highland feature gives striking contrast to Lord Monteith symbolising sophisticated and courtesan manner.[29] This is again the result of a fixation of the Highlander's image as one of dark black hair with beard and the wearing of the kilt. His jacket shows that he is from not just the ordinary classes, but the result is the same. His bony but thick fingers and broad shoulder fortify it. *The Death of Sir George Staunton* and *Dalgetty and Ranald's encounter with the Clergyman in the Chapel at the Inverary* evoke a more negative side in the image of the Highlanders. In both engravings, what is found is the juxtaposition of the noble savage and civility, which could be re-phrased by the set of the Scottish past and the British present. In the former painting, the kilt and the English style jacket of the right figure shows - like in Scott's novels - the concoction of the Scottish past and the British present. In this sense the three figures in the front show an interesting juxtaposition of symbols. The dying elegant (nobleman) represents the English courtier, and the centre figure (defending himself from a person on his right hand) is more wild and rugged than this concoction, which is enhanced by his fur vest and untrimmed hair and beard. In the latter painting, Ranald is carrying a shield and sword - both characteristic of the image - and with long beard. His rough image is here again juxtaposed with the sophisticated manner of Dalgetty wearing a fine garment and elegant manner. Their shabby and battered outfit is accentuated by their barbaric gesture giving a frightening impression. This two-sided image of the Highlanders is probably the refection of

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[29] W. E. Lockhart's *Annot Lyle, Lord Monteith and Allan McAulay in Legend of Montrose* (Edinburgh, 1878)

what people outside the Highlands kept in mind. These elements are also found among other engravings as well (plates 6-6, 7, 8).

In terms of image, the whole of Scotland became part of the Highlands reaching its apogee in 1822 when George IV visited Scotland and wore the kilt and, in the Victorian period, with Queen's fascination with the Highlands as best represented by her purchase and renovation of Balmoral castle. Both the Highlands landscape and their custom became the representation of the entire Scotland with the theory of picturesque as their intermediary.

Another repeated scenery in the engravings is an isolated castle standing on a rocky cliff. John Thomson of Duddingston's well-known painting *Fast Castle on a Calm Day* (1828, plate 6-9) is a typical work using this theme, one which inspired Scott to present a description of Wolf's Crag Castle in *The Bride of Lammermoor*.[30] The desolation of nature in these two works is similar to the image found in other landscape engravings. However, what these two works evoke is a stark contrast of nature and human-being symbolised by a castle and some boats or people on horses.

This contrast between nature and humankind is but one aspect of the Scottish landscape. Three engravings, here, show the harmony of nature and human kind by

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[30] Williams and Brown, *The Bigger Picture*, p. 133. There are six works of Thomson in RAPFAS's annual printing, which include *Fast Castle from Below. Six Etchings after paintings by the Rev John Thomson of Duddingston H.R.S.A. Etched by William Hole R.S.A.* (Edinburgh, 1889) See also, Sam Bough's *Wolf's Crag* in *The Bride of Lammermoor* (Edinburgh, 1875) Scott's accompanied description of Wolf's Crag shows to what extent Scott got his inspiration from Thomson's painting:
At this moment the cloud which had long lowered above the height on which Wolf's Crag is situated, and which now, as it advanced, spread itself in darker and denser folds both over land and sea, hiding the distant objects, and obscuring those which were nearer, turning the sea to a leaden complexion, and the heath to a darker brown, began now, by one or two distant peals, to announce the thunders with which it was fraught; while two flashes of lightening, following each other very closely, showed in the distance the grey turrets of Wolf's Crag, and, more nearly, the rolling billows of the ocean, crested suddenly with red and dazzling light. (Chapter IX)

merging the castle into the entire scenery (plates 6-10, 11, 12). In the meantime, these three paintings also reveal how much the contemporary artists including Thomson were influenced by the theory of the picturesque. In all three paintings, tall trees untouched by humans are set in the foreground, while castles come in-between trees and in backgrounds. In this sense, these engravings are the faithful visualisation of Scott's concept of landscape gardening.

While there are many engravings which take their themes from either landscapes or the Highlanders, it is difficult to find the engravings dealing with the contemporary social reality. As we have seen, the engravings with the Highlanders or the tartan-clad soldier, the message converged is neither a declaration aiding the Highlanders nor an accusation of the calamity caused by war. Certainly there is the touch of lamentation for loss in these engravings, but only to the extent that it fits with the aesthetics of tragedy. The fate of the Highlanders as that of extinction was not merely found in *Waverley* but real enough to the contemporary Scots. The Highland Clearance and the many forced migrations were the current social issues for them, though there must have been a gap between the 'actual' extent of calamity and what the contemporary perceived as calamity. Clark Stanton's *The departure of the Gypsies from Ellangowan* is an illustration of *Guy Mannering*, but the painter's intention is clear enough: the description of the Clearance.[31] The black sky is a clear

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[31] Clark Stanton, 'The Departure of the Gypsies from Ellangowan' in *Guy Mannering* (Edinburgh, 1866) In the accompanied Scott himself mentions the resemblance of these two events:
At length the term-day, the fatal Martinmas, arrived, and violent measures of ejection were restored to. A strong pose of peace-officers, sufficient to render all resistance vain, charged the inhabitants to depart by noon; and, as they did not obey, the officers, in terms of their warrant, proceeded to unroof the cottages, and pull down the wretched doors and windows, - a summary and effectual mode of

indication of the ominous nature of the event and the blurred figures demonstrate the doomed future of the people. The image of the Clearance is also strongly evoked by the farming tools they carry: they are quite similar to one used in the Highlands of the time.[32] The second image can be derived from the Old Testament - eviction from the Egypt. The groom is effectively enhanced by the dark low clouds as well as two dogs running along the herd of the evicted people. This observation of tragedy is also found in Thomas Faed's work *The Last of the Clan* (plate 6-13). The feelings of misgiving, exhaustion and despair are apparent in the faces of the people in the painting, enhanced by the predominantly grey tone. More sentimental tones can be found in later paintings such as William McTaggart's *The Sailing of the Emigrant Ship* (plate 6-14). The moaning and sorrow of forced emigration is symbolised by both a ship far away from the shore and vague figures - an old man and a child (apparently clutching a soft-toy) and a dog gazing somewhere afar. The despair of paucity and the sense of loss can be found in *Leaving Home*.[33] A young boy has to go leaving behind his grand parents, mother and sisters together with his sweet memory of childhood. His grim face is probably because of his misgiving for the future waiting for him. The sentimentality in the engraving is further evoked by his little sister not understanding the situation, a dog, a toy cart and a shoe.

Although this series of paintings is dealing with the social concern of the nineteenth century, it is not calling for a rectification of its problems. Thus, there

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ejection stplate prepared in some remote parts of Scotland, hen a tenant proves refractory.
[32] K. Daly, '"Return No More!": Highland Emigration and Romantic Nostalgia', *Literature and History*, 3rd series, 9 (2000).

lacks the tension which appears in some of Sir David Wilkie's paintings such as *Detraining for Rent* (plate 6-15). Wilkie's anger for social injustice is symbolised by his items of confiscation such as a bassinet with blanket. Instead, the emotion found in the engravings is sorrow caused by loss. The expression of loss is similar to the one found in Robert Herdman's Lucy Ashton at the Fountain.[34] Such lack of concern with the 'social' reality of the life of the ordinary life is also found in the engravings dealing with the theme of domestic life. Instead of looking at the reality, the engravings tend to illustrate rural life as the joy of frugality and simplicity.[35]

As discussed above, each theme drawn from contemporary stylistic conventions is seemingly entwined with external influences. The theory of picturesque, for instance, was shared by both painting and literary camps. Such a theory seems to have had a considerable influence on the artists to decide what should represent the visual image of Scotland through the five themes, each of which constitutes a particular aspect of Scottishness. This version of Scottishness constructed in the engravings was also influenced by the present political status -

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[33] 'R. T. Ross, 'Leaving Home' in *Six Engravings* (Edinburgh, 1863).
[34] Robert Herdman, 'Lucy Ashton at the Fountain' in *Bride of Lammermoor*.
[35] Typical examples in this regard are the illustrations of 'The Cottar's Saturday Night'. See *The Cottar's Saturday Night Illustrated by John Faed* (Edinburgh, 1853). The Report for the RAPFAS in 1854 praises the success of these engravings as well as John Faed's next commissioned work of Tam o' Shanter indicating that this was how the committee members of the RAPFAS would like to see the notion of domestic idyll:
... the true and peculiar character of the genius of Burns has never been so adequately depicted as in these compositions. An intelligent critic has remarked of the series, " It is much superior to its predecessor, good as that was. One great advantage of the present illustrations is, that they possess a continuous interest; they illustrate not a homily, like the 'Cottar's Saturday Night', with its pleasing, but detached, pictures, but a *story*; and that, too, one in which fun and fancy are mingled with a master's hand." (RAPFAS, *Report by the Committee of Management* (1853-54), p. 5.)
Such love of domesticity and cosy idyll is not unique to the nineteenth-century but took its origin in the previous century. S. Nenadic, 'The Enlightenment in Scotland and the popular passion for portraits', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 21 (1998), p. 178. As for Burns' influence on the later Kailyard tradition, see A. Nash, 'The Cotter's Kailyard', in R. Crawford (ed.),

Scotland in the British Empire - as found in the engravings of Robert Burns' 'The Soldier's Return'. Scottish military prowess, once used against her southern neighbours, found its place in the Empire along with her former foe in these engravings. While the themes such as the Scottish landscape and castles helped the imagination of people from both Scotland and abroad to be fixed along the line of Scotland's historical novels and its academic history, themes like social issues, here represented by the Highland clearance and domestic life, gave the impression of a cosy idyllic life occasionally frilled with sentimental tragedy. In this sense, the vision of nationhood imagined among these engravings does not seem to carry any political messages. As we will see in the next section, the subscribers of the RAPFAS engravings were essentially drawn from the bourgeoisie, who did not feel the necessity to express their politicised vision of Scotland through these engravings. Such aims were carried through the activities of associations such as the NAVSR. On the other hand, unlike the notion of Scottish nationhood in the Scottish chapbooks analysed in chapters two to four, this version of Scottishness does not seem to suggest any particular political inclination, such as asserting the authenticity of Scottish civil and religious liberty. Rather, each theme plays a role in depoliticising Scottishness. If that was the case, why should this version of Scottishness be configured in this particular manner? As the previous section suggested, it is essential to examine who 'consumed' the arts as well as what was available to the art market. Particularly, in the case of the RAPFAS engravings, it was the members of the

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Robert Burns and Cultural Authority (Edinburgh, 1997).

RAPFAS who commissioned these engravings, and as we will see in the next section, their taste of art was very particular. In other words, Scottishness constructed in the RAPFAS engravings were not only the images of Scotland created by the artists but also the reflection of the RAPFAS members' ideas of what should represent Scotland visually. The next section will look into the issues of the membership and of the activities of the RAPFAS. Such analysis will lead us to obtain more ideas on the issue of how this particular vision of Scottish nationhood was constructed.

4

The Royal Association of Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland was established in 1834 to enlighten Scottish people with visual arts as well as to support native grown artists through giving them opportunity to exhibit their own work. The latter task was well articulated in the speech of Lord Jeffrey, the chairman of the 1841 Annual General Meeting:

> That the great aim of the Member of this Society was to advance a taste for Art, and to extend the fame and honour of Artists; and he was happy to say that, to a great degree, they had accomplished both these objects, by diffusing a taste for Art among the Scottish Public, and by raising a higher standard of excellence amongst Artists themselves.[36]

As an institution to enlighten the artistic taste of the Scots, its main role was to purchase the paintings and engravings it thought of as tasteful and of artistic merit and to hold exhibitions to show this work. Indeed, as was discussed above, an important aim was to publish and distribute a series of engravings for their members.

The activities of the RAPFAS were supported by its members' annual subscription.[37]

This type of society should be understood in the context of a British trend which saw the sprouting of literary and art societies or voluntary associations the late-eighteenth century onwards.[38] While many of these societies were a part of national network, in this case around Britain, each art society made an attempt to assert their regional originality through their selection of arts based on local themes and the promotion of local artists.[39] Promoting arts concerned with local topography and landscape through those voluntary associations was one way to express their civic pride, or in case of the RAPFAS, more significantly it was a means to promote a national pride rather than regionalism:

> ...and I feel, as I see in the far vista of time that great painting enriched year after year by the worthiest productions of Scottish genius in every department of the Fine Arts, that there is no one here who will not join with me in thinking that the Anniversary Meeting of 1849 is not the Meeting least eventful in the career, lest interesting in the annals, and least useful for the stability of an Institution which has laid its foundations in the lively sympathy of some the purest, kindliest, and most dignified feelings of patriotism and enlightened humanity. (Loud cheers.)[40]

As it will be discussed below and in the next chapter, this type of society did not only play a significant role in creating and determining the Scottish bourgeoisie's collective taste for arts, but also provided visual images promoting a sense of

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[36] RAPFAS, *1841-42 Report on the Annual General Meeting* (1842), p. 1.
[37] Ibid., p,1. The report emphasises with the 'national' character of the society.
[38] J. Seed, '"Commerce and the liberal arts": the political economy of art in Manchester, 1775-1860', in J. Wolff and J. Seeds (eds.), *The Culture of Capital: art, power and the nineteenth-century middle class* (Manchester, 1988), p. 66 and *passim*, J. Seed, 'Unitarianism, political economy and the antinomies of liberal culture in Mancherster, 1830-1850', *Social History*, 7 (1982), G. Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p.87 and R. J. Morris, *Class, sect and party: the making of the British middle class: Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990), pp. 229-30.
[39] Ibid., pp.55-56, and C. Arscott, G. Pollock and J. Wolff, 'The partial view: the visual representation of the early nineteenth-century city', in Wolff and Seed, *The Culture of Capital.*
[40] The speech made by John Thomson Gordon, the sheriff of the county of Mid-Lothian (the Chairman of the Association), in Appendix of *Report by the Committee of Management* (1848-49),

Scottishness. Furthermore, because like other societies of the kind, the RAPFAS was strongly related to both the political and social structure of Scotland, the image provided became a dominant discourse of Scottishness building on that already narrativised by Scott and the early nineteenth-century Scottish historians.[41] The close analysis of its membership reinforces this point (table 6-2). As Stana Nenadic argues, the popularity of print collecting was nothing novel in the nineteenth-century, it became a popular activity among the middling sort especially in the second half of the eighteenth-century spurred on by the commercialisation in art.[42] However, a significant difference between a late eighteenth-century print collector and a subscriber of the RAPFAS of the mid-nineteenth century is the way they make a meaning of purchasing and displaying the print. While as Nenadic points out, the display of particular prints and engravings demonstrate 'the householder's allegiance to particular political or ideological positions, or his/her connections with the patronage networks', the latter being particularly articulated by holding contemporary portraits, the subscription to the RAPFAS did not enable a collector to demonstrate such a particularity by their purchase.[43] On the other hand, this does not signify that nineteenth-century print-collectors became passive in terms of consumer behaviour. Their display of engravings probably meant their will to

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p.50.

[41] G. Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, and as discussed in the last chapter, the significance of proliferation of historical societies in Scotland lies in discovering sources for the study of Scottish history as well as institutionalising a view and interpretation provided by researchers and historians affiliated with these societies. M. Ash, *Strange Death.*

[42] S. Nenadic, 'Print Collecting and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *History* 82 (1997), and S. Nenadic, 'Romanticism and the urge to consume in the first half of the nineteenth century' in M. Berg and H. Clifford (ed.), *Consumers and luxury Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester, 1999).

subscribe to the image of Scottishness offered by the RAPFAS was all the greater. Furthermore, because the activity of the RAPFAS - including commissioning engravings to artists - was based mainly on collective decision mainly, each subscriber became a part of the process of creating a collective taste for art and Scottishness.

In 1849, the number of subscriptions reached 3,313 at the annual fee of 21 shillings.[44] According to the 1853-54 report, the number of subscribed members and the amount of subscription changed in the following manner:[45]

Table 6-1
Changes in the numbers of subscribed members and the amount of subscription 1848-1854[46]

Year	The number of subscribed members	The amount of subscription in pounds
1848	3308	3473
1849	3755	3943
1850	3313	3477
1851	2939	3085
1852	3313	3477
1853	4468	4160
1854	4467	4159

The 21 shilling subscription fee suggests that the targeted clientele of the RAPFAS was not for ordinary people but more well-to-do or the so-called middle class.[47] This is apparently reflected in the members of the management committee:

Table 6-2 Members of Committee of Management from 1834-35 to 1861-62 inclusive[48]		
Bell, Robert	sheriff of Berwickshire	1841-42
Forbes, Arthur	W.S.	1841-42

[43] Ibid., p. 213.
[44] RAPFAS, *Report by the Committee of Management* (1848-49), p. 15.
[45] RAPFAS, *Report by the Committee of Management* (1853-54), p. 3.
[46] Taken from RAPFAS, *Report by the Committee of Management* (1848-49, 51-52, and 53-54).
[47] It is questionable if they desired to make them open to public:
"Although the Exhibition was open to the public any restriction, not slightest injury was done to the Paintings, which were viewed by all classes with evident interest and pleasure."
[48] Based on *Report by the Committee of Management* (1841-42, 50-51 and 61-62).

Grant, Sir George M'pherson	Bart.	1841-42	
Jeffrey	Lord	1841-42	
Murray, William	of Henderland	1841-42	
Napier. Mark	Sheriff of Dumfriesshire	1841-42	
Piper, Edward	Mail Coach Contractor	1841-42	
Stirling, Sir Gilbert	Bart	1841-42	
Terrot, Right Reverend	Bishop	1841-42	
Warrender, Sir George	Bart	1841-42	
Wilson, John	Proferssor of Moral Philosophy	1841-42	
Allan, Alexander	Advocate	1850-51	
Bell, Henry Glassford	Advocate	1850-51	
Black, Charles	Publisher	1850-51	
Buccleuch	Duke of	1850-51	
Dennistoun, James	of Dennistoun	1850-51	
Fraser, P. S.	Bookseller	1850-51	
Gordon, J. T.	Sheriff of Midlothian	1850-51	
Irvine, Alexander Forbes	of Drum	1850-51	
Johnston, Sir William	Kt, Lord Provost of Edinburgh	1850-51	
Paton, George	Advocate	1850-51	
Pyper, Hamilton	Advocate	1850-51	
Smith, David	W.S.	1850-51	
Wood	Lord	1850-51	
Chrichton, Robert	M. D. Professor of Material Medication	1860-61	
Coventry, Andrew	Advocate	1860-61	
Elcho	Lord, M. P.	1860-61	
Horn, Robert	Advocate	1860-61	
Horne, James	C.E.	1860-61	
Jerviswoode	Lord	1860-61	
Logan, Alex S.	Sherif of Forfarshire	1860-61	
MacLagan, Dr., Douglas	V. P. Royal College of Surgeons	1860-61	
Neaves	Lord	1860-61	
Playfair, Dr Lyon	C.B	1860-61	
Russel, James	of Blackbraes	1860-61	
Wilson, William	of Banknock	1860-61	
Craig, J. T. Gibson	Bart	1860-61, 42	1841-
Dundrennan	Lord	1860-61, 51	1850-
Farquharson, Francis	of Finzean	1860-61, 51	1850-
Bell, J. A.	Architect	1860-61, 42	1841-

As the figure above demonstrates, the structure of committee members hardly changed for two decades between 1840 and 1862. The committee was normally

comprised of the titled aristocracy, the landed interest, lawyers and businessmen as well as professionals. Noticably, artists were conspicuous by their absence from the committee. Although the RAPFAS was different in terms of their main concern from other voluntary associations such as temperance society or hospital charities, as Graeme Morton points out, 'their internal constitutional concerns were an organising principle around which the middle class's conception of itself as a coherent class was formed'.[49] And the committee members themselves were well aware of their task to 'enlighten' the public with the 'proper' knowledge of art, which could be found in the speech of Duncan McLagan MD, the chairman of the Annual General Meeting, 1853-54:

> And this institution, I think, is well entitled to claim for itself the character of national; for, although it is sometimes publicly said that it is maintained for the benefit and encouragement of art, it has, in truth, a higher duty and nobler end; and if it diffuses benefits, and encourages artists, it is only in so far as they contribute to that end—only in so far as they may be regarded as the servants of the public—the instruments whose skill and excellencies of all kinds are faithfully reflected in every successive stage of the improvement of the public taste[50]

So, why were they interested in and almost seemingly obsessed with promoting art in Scotland? Apart from their sense of public duty, their perception of Scottishness seems to be a key point, as MacLagan's speech continues:

> ˇ though like all nations we have, and are entitled to have, a good opinion of ourselves, we need not pretend that we are either an aesthetical or artistic nation. We are conscientious, steady, energetic, shrewd, sensible, practical, utilitarian in no small degree, but no person pretends we are an elegant or graceful nation. Our ancestors busied with the serious operations of murdering archbishops, had no room in their minds to think of the more graceful occupations of painting a landscape. It is perfectly impossible for a nation to be at once sternly patriotic like a red hot poker—(laughter)—and under that inspiration to take up

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[49] Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, p.65. While the RAPFAS drew some members both nationally and internationally, the list of the committee members suggest that its day-to-day business was operated by the Edinburgh based bourgeoisie.
[50] *Report by the Committee of Management* (1853-54), Appendix, p. 50.

> the painter's brush and flourish away at arabesque and these things. (Laughter.) Now this is not nonsense, but truth.[51]

MacLagan's speech seems to be a resonance of Stana Nenadic's study of the romantic movement and the rise of modern consumerism, 'the emphasis, again, was on an engagement with the emotions, particularly through the representation of landscape and nature, as well as depictions of the spirit of individual creativity, heroism or nationalism'.[52]

It is significant that the activities of the RAPFAS relied mostly on the subscription fee, meaning that the RAPFAS had to cater for the tastes of its subscribed members. It seems the committee members discussed how the commissioned work would best fit their own purpose:

> How well Mr Faed has performed his task will be admitted by all who have had an opportunity of inspecting the series of the Designs. They are now before you; and the Committee are unanimous in giving emphatic and confident expression to their opinion, that the true and peculiar character of the genius of Burns has never been so adequately depicted as in these compositions. [53]

In this occasion, the committee members discussed what they thought of Tom Faed's commissioned work for illustrating Burns' 'Tam o' Shanter'. Thus, the engravings commissioned and distributed by the RAPFAS are arguably the outcome of negotiations between artists' aesthetic concern and the market strategy carefully drawn up by the RAPFAS to cater for the taste of their subscribers. For instance, what the 1850-51 committee report reveals is that the committee members' artistic

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[51] Ibid., p. 51.
[52] Nenadic, 'Romanticism and the urge to consume', p.212.
[53] Ibid., pp. 5-6. A similar comment is found in the 1849-50 Report:
Their choice was limited by their wish, to meet if possible, with a Painting by a Scottish Artist, portraying, as the early works of Wilkie so inimitably do, some picturesque and interesting incident in the domestic life of our native peasantry.

tastes as well as their perception of Scottish history determined what paintings should be engraved:

> The last name's Picture [John C. Brown's painting 'The last of the Clan] which was kindly lent to them by the proprietor Mr Fletcher of Dunans, was added by the Committee to the list of Pictures recommended by their predecessors to be engraved, in the belief that the interesting incident so ably portrayed in it, rendered it particularly fitted to form an effective Engraving.[54]

Such decision-making is also based on their clear understanding of what their members wanted, which is exemplified by the 1849-50 committee members' selection:

> ... the Committee beg to suggest that the following Paintings be placed in the hands of comptent Engravers without loss of time, for the purpose of being engraved for the Members of 1850-51, it being understood that the Subscribers to whom they may be awarded as prizes will receive them under this suspensive condition, viz.—
>
> Curiosity, by John Faed
> The Shepherd's Grace by Alexander Fraser
> A Forrest Glade, by Horatio Macculloch
> The Castle of Bishopstein, by T M Richardson
> A Border Raid, The Peel Defended, by John A. Houston
>
> It is proposed that two of the Engraving shall be executed in live, and the remainder in the mixed style; and though of larger dimesions in engraving, that they shall be printed upon paper of an equal size with that which was used for the Eleven Engravings distributed among the Subscribers of 1848-49, in order that they may form a contiuation of that series, which it is understood had given so much satisfaction to the Subscribers.[55]

This point is further illustrated by the list of paintings the RAPFAS purchased.[56] As the list demonstrates, it includes many paintings which took their themes from the Scottish landscape, especially from the Highlands.

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The final point to be taken from the evidence presented here is that unlike the presentation of Scottishness found in the chapbooks, the image of Scottish

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[54] RAPFAS, *Report by the Committee of Management* (1850-51), p. 3.

nationhood provided by those engravings seems to have a more coherent and monolithic framework. As discussed in chapters one to four, the notion of Scottishness offered in chapbooks comprised a milliard of different images which were often contradictory and conflicting to each other, and even the meaning of the nation changed from within one body of chapbooks to another, suggesting that the usage of the word nation was situational and fluid. On the other hand, the series of engravings analysed here apparently had a much more cohesive narrative behind it. It was a romanticised and depoliticised notion of Scottishness, which would not conflict with either England or Britain (represented by the imperial present) or the political tenet held by the Scottish elite. More importantly, the image offered here was institutionalised through the activity of the RAPFAS organised by the Scottish bourgeoisie, helped by tenacious relations between the popularity of romanticism and the rise of commercialism. Promoting national art became part of larger marketing mechanism where collective decision had priorities over the taste of individual artists.

What, then, happened to the image of Scotland offered by the chapbooks? Had Wallace, Bruce, and the late seventeenth-century Covenanter lost their place in the national historiography of Scotland? If so, how did this process occur? These questions will be tackled in the next chapter through an examination of the changes in Scotland's contemporary social structure.

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[55] RAPFAS, *Report by the Committee of Management* (1849-50), p. 10.
[56] See Appendix F.

Plate 6-1: 'The Lady of the Lake' (1868)
Painted by R. Herdman
Engraved by Thomas Brown

Plate 6-2: *Logan Braes* (1861)
Painted by A. H. Burr
Engraved by R. C. Bell

Plate 6-3: *Muschat's Cairn* (1873)
Painted by S. Bough
Engraved by W. Forrest

Plate 6-4: *Loch Katrine* (1866)
Painted by H. McCulloch

Plate 6-5: "At length I reached bonnie glen
Where early life I sport"
The Soldier's Return (1857)
Painted by J. Faed
Engraved by J. Stephenson

Plate 6-6:

Rob Roy perting the duellists, Rashleigh and Francis Osbaldistone

(1868)

Painted by J. B. Macdonald

Engraved by J. Le Conte

Plate 6-7:*Fitzjames and Roderick Dhu* (1868)
Painted by J. B. Macdonald
Engraved by L. Stocks

Plate 6-8:*Fuergus MacIvor Introduces Waverley to the Prince* (1865)
Painted by J. B. Macdonald
Engraved by L. Stocks

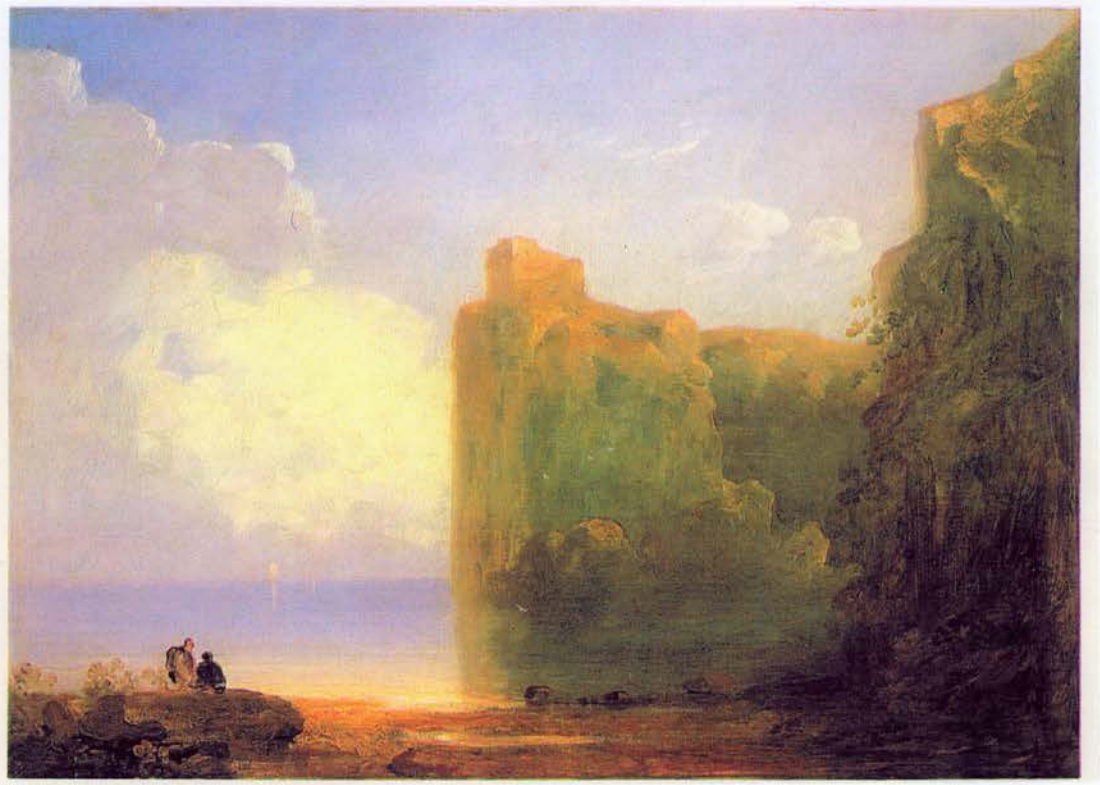

Plate 6-9: *Fast Castle on a Calm Day* (1828)
Painted by John Thomson of Duddingston

Plate 6-10: *Tully Veolan* (1865)
Painted by W. Leitch
Engraved by W. Miller

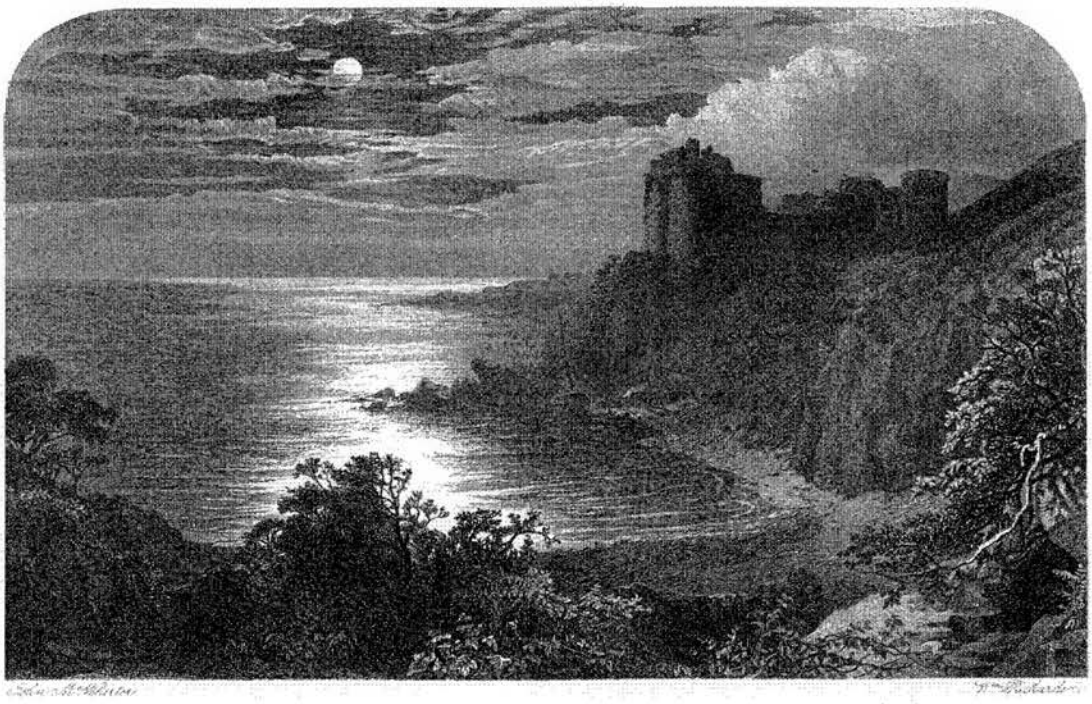

Plate 6-11: *Ellangowan Castle by Moonlight* (1865)
Painted by J. M. Whirter
Engraved by W. Richardson

Plate 6-12: *Ravenswood Castle* (1875)
Painted by J. Smart
Engraved by W. Forrest

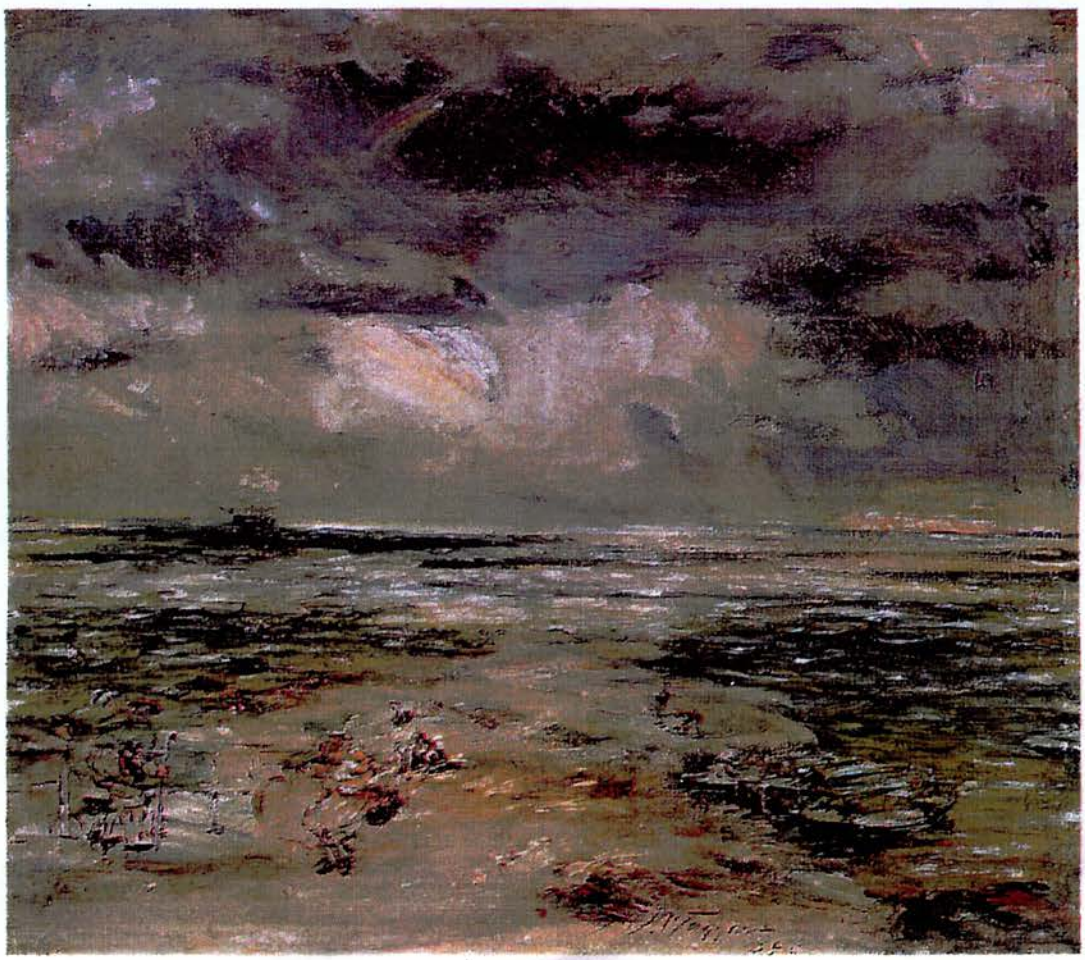

Plate 6-14: *The Sailing of the Emigrant Ship* (1895)
Painted by W. McTaggart

Plate 6-15: *Distraining for Rent* (1815)
Painted by Sir David Wilkie

Chapter 7

The multiple nature of Scottishness: the dialectics of nation and class

1

In the first four chapters, an understanding was reached of how the world view of nationhood was constructed within the Scottish chapbooks. It was achieved by analysing three genres: 'native heroes', 'Otherness' as tyranny, not nation, and 'religious freedom'. What was found from these genres was that they developed narratives quite different from what is currently imagined as the historical plot of the Scottish nation by late-twentieth century Scottish nationalists. In other words, the way in which the image of Scottish nationhood was constructed differed significantly from the one we are familiar with: that is a story with romanticised landscape or the story of mortal struggle against the English. The story of William Wallace, for example, did not develop around the plot of Wallace as 'the' national hero rescuing the Scottish nation from the hostile English nation. It was, rather, about the story of his personal victory and suffering against his malignant enemy Edward I. Thus the story of Wallace was not the story of two nations but of two people. The history of the Covenanters, meanwhile, was centred on the suffering of the Scottish nation caused by her ruler who happened to be of Scottish origin. In both cases the Scottish nation was not constructed by employing the oft-used dialectic of one nation against other nations. In lieu, the nation was constituted through a different dialectic, that of nation and tyrant. The story of Scotland's past, employing William Wallace,

Bannockburn or the Covenanters, was thus that of the nation embodied by liberty and freedom fighting directed against an enemy symbolised by its tyranny.

This vagueness of a national 'otherness' exemplified by ambiguity towards the English in the stories of Robert Bruce and William Wallace was partly explained by the nature of Anglo-Scottish relations of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Admittedly the Union of 1707 did not immediately create and forge Britishness or British nationhood, with mutual animosity lingering well into the mid-eighteenth century, but by the end of the century the élites and others started to accept the *fait accompli* of the Union. Moreover, the Scots started to see their nation from the perspective of Scotland within the British Empire, in which she had an equal share with her southern neighbour. Under these circumstances, the meaning of the Union transformed from the treaty which ditched Scottish sovereignty to the treaty which would protect the Scottish nation from anglicisation, because the treaty was to be interpreted as a guarantee to fair and equal partnership within the British Empire.

Whereas the narrative of the Scottish loyalist chapbooks seems, at first glance, out of step with the political context of the 1790s, their main plot shows a striking similarity with those chapbooks which might have been favoured by radicalism. The narratives of both radical and loyalist chapbooks developed upon the dialectic of freedom and liberty (the nation) and tyranny (the other). Another shared point among these chapbooks is their acceptance of Britain as part of their identity: to sustain and to be loyal to the Scottish nation meant to sustain and to be loyal to the

British nation.[1] While most Scottish radicals - with a notable exception of Thomas Muir - aimed at reforming the Scottish polity from within the British context, loyalist chapbooks demonstrated their allegiance to the Scottish nation as much as the British nation in order to protect both nationhoods from tyrannical France.[2] For both camps, British patriotism held as much significance as Scottish patriotism, and both identities were intertwined through the love of freedom and the hatred of tyranny. Where they differed, on the other hand, lies in the use of this version of patriotism. While radicals used it to justify their political programme and avoid committing high treason, loyalists used the language of patriotism so as to wage war against France.

As found in chapter five and six, however, the nationhood constructed through Scott's Waverley novels, the academic historiography and the engravings distributed by the RAPFAS, did not use the dialectic of the nation (liberty and freedom) and tyranny (other). For conservatives such as Scott and William Aitoun, patriotism was nothing to do with reforming the British state. Indeed, Scott's influential *Waverley* offers the dialectic of the Scottish past and the British present based on conjectural historiography, as originated during the Enlightenment, without alluding to the dichotomy of the nation and tyranny. His version of nationhood and patriotism was not necessarily to encourage political inclusion of the extra-parliamentary camp: the state was not the tyrant. Instead, Scott's *Waverley* was

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[1] Murdoch, *British History*, pp. 145-46.

[2] Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain*, pp.168-69. However, Pittock seems to misinterpret and misread John D. Brims' article. Pittock's quote in page 169 from John Brims' 'The Scottish Jacobins' was not written by Thomas Muir but by the Dublin Society of United Irishmen. (See, Brims, 'The Scottish Jacobins', p.250.) According to Brims, although the address was permitted to be read, the national convention of the Scottish Friends of the People decided to oppose to the address. For further discussion on this issue, see chapter three of this thesis.

constructed to defend the status quo of de-facto autonomy within the British state. And it can be argued that it is here that Scott differs from Burns.

This contrast leads to a temptation to read some Scottish chapbooks as popular manifestations protesting against the political establishment. The stories were about nation (or people) versus political establishment (state) rather than nation versus other nations. As discussed in chapter three, James Young suggested that the Scottish working class utilised the Covenanters and the Battle of Bannockburn as their historical icons to protest against the government. Pointing out that Scottish society was class ridden, with the London establishment and the Scottish bourgeoisie on the one side and the Scottish working classes on the other, Young concluded that these Covenanter marches were the way in which the Scottish working classes expressed their nationalist sentiment against their employer as well as the London government.[3] Bannockburn could be used as a glorious symbol against their oppressors. More recently, while Bill Knox also contends that 'the working-class political culture in Scotland rested on the pillars of democracy, nationalism, republicanism and social justice', Richard Finlay points out 'a marked ambiguity lower down the social scale when it comes to British identity' as popular literature was more concerned with Scottish themes.[4]

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[3] Young, *Rousing of Scotland*, especially chapters 2 and 3. A similar perspective is also found in P. B. Ellis and S. Mac A' Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820* (Edinburgh, 2000 ed.), pp. 19-99. Tony Dickson, on the other hand, makes an attempt to see the period given for the Scottish working-class as their effort to enable a collective and concerted action in line with the English working-class, rejecting the working-class nationalism thesis. 'Class and Nationalism in Scotland', in R. Parsler, (ed.), *Capitalism,Class and Politics in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 120, and see also, T. Clarke and Dickson, 'The Birth of Class?', in Devine and Mitchison (eds.), *People and Society*, p. 302. A similar view is also found in Smout, *Century of the Scottish People*, p. 238.

[4] B. Knox, 'The Political and Workplace Culture', in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *People and Society*, vol. II, p.152 and Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain?', p. 151.

Influential and attractive as these arguments are, however, the evidence found in this study shows he supposed coherence of a working class radical view to be too simplistic. Using Young's argument, it is possible to argue that those Scottish chapbooks were the backbone of the Scottish working class nationalism providing such nationalism with effective historical anecdotes to mobilise working class opinion against their enemy, yet here a series of questions arise. First of all, Young does not clearly define the purpose of such nationalism. Against what or whom it is directed against is only vaguely implied. Secondly, his application of class theory to explain Scottish society does not fit with the picture we have seen throughout this study, since its application is based on an overly rigid classification of Scottish society derived from the Marxist tradition. A problem of Young's argument, therefore, is its premise that early nineteenth-century Scottish society was a class-ridden one, and he fails to give consideration to the applicability of such a concept. Indeed, recent debates on the nature of British society during this period cast strong scepticism on this rather over-simplified view.

The aim of this chapter is three fold. Firstly, the content of chapbooks published after 1830 as well as those concerned with the issue of social unity will be analysed. While songs such as 'The Triumph of Reform' demonstrate that the language of nation against tyranny within a British framework was much alive, other songs like 'Hurra For the Highlands' published after 1850 show much similarity to the romanticised and neutralised vision of Scottishness created by Scott and institutionalised by societies like the RAPFAS. Secondly, the recent historiography of class in British history will be examined, especially in relation to the on-going debate over 'linguistic' turn versus 'structured' explanations for social class. Indeed,

while this thesis does not wholly accept the argument presented by historians such as Patrick Joyce and Gareth Stedman-Jones, their refutation of the centrality of class as the master narrative of British history in the given period will partly explain the situational and fluid nature of the multiple identities which the contemporary Scots assumed. Thirdly, such a fluid and situational set of identities, which can almost be labelled as 'pick and mix', will be further examined by analysing how the language of nation was used by different groups with various social and political affiliations at diverse historical junctions. Although the same language of nation was used throughout the given period, its meaning varied according to its users and their situations.

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During the Reform bill movement of the early 1830s, Scottish chapbooks once again employed the language of nation in order to fulfil their aim of reforming 'Old Corruption'. The language of the British and Scottish nations symbolised by their liberty was often very similar to that found within loyalist chapbooks. However, otherness in the Reform bill chapbooks differed considerably from that found during the Napoleonic war period. For instance, in a song 'The Triumph of Reform' tyrants were not foreign, as was the case in loyalist chapbooks, but comprised the Tory establishment:

> Duke Wellingron, Lyndhurst, may rage, wail, and grumble,
> Earl Vane, and Carnarvon, may bray like an ass;
> The people have taught them a lesson to humble
> The hearts of proud tyrants, with faces of brass.
> Here's health to Earl Grey, Althorp, Richmond and Russel,

Here's Landsowne, and Durham, and Holland and Brougham.[5]

Indeed, this was a battle between the nation led by 'the men of the people's own choice' and those decried as a 'base faction'. The song also defines the place of the monarch in this freed nation:

> And here's to the people who, firm and united,
> Have vanquish'd their foes without bloodshed or strife;
> And here's to King William, whose worth has been sighted,
> May he never again was misled in his life.
> Now he knows that he rules o'er a nation of freedmen.[6]

Like chapbooks on the Covenanters, the monarch is not regarded here as the fountain of nationhood but instead he is tied to accepting the will of the nation. In other words, the relationship between the nation and the monarch is defined as contractual, the monarch has a legitimate power to rule over Britain so long as he/she is found 'worthy' by the nation, rather than the monarch owning the nation. In this sense, the will of the nation supersedes royal prerogative. Thus, the outlook of the nation in the language in 'The Triumph of Reform' is similar to the one found in loyalist chapbooks, but it differs in its intended meaning. This language also has similarities as well as differences in comparison with the language of the nation in the 1790s and in chapbooks on the Covenanters. While the nature of the nation/monarch relationship is very similar, the issue of the nation is more firmly placed within the British political framework, as is found in the first verse of a broadside ballad 'The Triumph of Reform':

> Ye sons of Scotia, raise your voice,
> And let the world hear;
> We'll make the tyrants tremble,
> For their day of judgement's near.
> The glorious sun of Liberty
> Is bursting into light;

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[5] Anon., *Five Favourite Songs, The triumph of Reform, While o'er the rising Moon, The Burial of Sir John Moore, The Pigeon, Dinna ask me gin I lo'e ye* (Newton-Stewart, n. d.), p. 2.
[6] Ibid., p. 2

And Wellington knows long ago,
How Britons they can fight.[7]

It is also clear from the song that the Napoleonic war was destined to play a role in forging England, Scotland and Ireland (with a notable absence of Wales) into a British nation by fighting against the tyranny which threatened the British nation, the land of liberty. Under these circumstances, the Duke of Wellington was a national hero, yet he came to be equated with tyranny because of his administration:

Let Wellington think the days
Of Spain and Waterloo,
When the Shamrock, Rose and Thistle join'd
Great Bonny to subdue.
Although we never ran from him,
From our cause he ran away,
And like a traitor wanted to
Pull down the soldier's pay.[8]

The events in three decades between 1790 and 1820 (the radical movement, the Napoleonic War and loyalism, Peterloo and the Radical War of 1820) further enhanced the sense of dual nationality, being Scottish as well as British, even among the lower echelons of Scottish society. For them, the Reform bill was not a mere hope to protect Scottish freedom but also a means to protect the British nation from the hands of tyranny. Their discontent with the Tory government was also concerned with the their perception of economic disparity caused by the Napoleonic war: the Tories were accused of accumulating their wealth throughout and after a period when the nation was waging war against France. The discontent and disappointment of demobilised soldiers was expressed in a song during the Reform Bill movement:

That Tory nest o' vermin pest.
That's fattened on our nation,-
They've got the fling, now let us sing,
About their desolation, quo' she,

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[7] Anon., 'The Triumph of Reform' (n. p., n. d.) The same song is collected in B. Freshwater (ed.), *Ye Sons of Scotia, Raise Your Voice Early 19th- century Scottish broadsides from a collection in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 32-3.
[8] 'The Triumph of Reform'

About their desolation.[9]

Another point noteworthy from these chapbooks and broadside ballads is that they resorted to constitutional issues such as the Reform bill in order to solve this economic disparity, as seen above. Although this distress was nothing new, as found in a song 'The Pride of poor Britain' printed during the Napoleonic war:

> The rich we find, have many friends,
> But the poor have few or none,
> But when this painful life doth end,
> Then we shall be all as one;
> The wealthy rich miser, and crafty old knave,
> Must with the poor beggar lie down in the grave,
> They'll but a shroud or a winding-sheet have.
> [Chorus]
> O poor Britain,
> What will this would come to?[10]

Such voicing of complaints and despair, however, did not necessarily lead the people to join the Radical movement: they merely showed their dissatisfaction with the status quo, especially when the economy slumped because of on-going war between Britain and France. This voice was either simply ignored or muted in favour of the language of persuasion, like in the song 'Every Man to his station':

> Thus every man to his own station,
> Both East and West North and South,
> And he that has got no to money to spend,
> He must dine at the sign of the Mouth.
>
> So not to conclude my few lines I have penn'd
> I wish you catch day may all heartily dine,
> And if you will buy this five song of me,
> I will thank you and straight run and get mine.[11]

The song asks neither to reform the status quo through constitutional reform nor to form a socially horizontal solidarity to tackle with economic issues. In the eyes of the

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[9] Anon., 'A New Song dedicated to the Reform Committee of Dalkieth in honour of the triumph of Reform' (n. p., n. d.)
[10] Anon., *The Pride of poor Britain, or , the folly of Man. To which are added, the old woman ground young again, the sailor's departure, Thomas loved Harriet and My pretty Brunette* (Glasgow, 1802), p. 3.

author, social and economic stability was achieved by concentrating on their own agenda.

Under such a configuration, the Reform movement in Scotland employed Scottish heroic icons such as Wallace and Bruce because they were the strongest defenders of liberty. The passing of the Reform Act in 1832 was thus celebrated with 'Rule Britannia' in Edinburgh, as happened in the centenary celebration of Anglo-Scottish Union, as well as 'Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled', while the romanticised vision of Scottishness, omnipresent in the jubilee of George IV's visit to Scotland ten years earlier, was notable by its absence on this occasion.[12] Meanwhile, Walter Scott came to be perceived as the hero of ordinary people, 'he essentially belongs to the People' in the words of an obituary of *The School Master and Edinburgh Magazine*, through equating him with radical politics.[13] This so-to-speak 'radicalisation' of Scott, a typical Tory supporter and member of the literati, as we have seen in chapter five, again exemplifies one of the recurrent themes in this thesis: the meaning of Scottish historical icons were defined and re-defined according to circumstances and in the context in which they were used. Thus the Wizard of the North - who himself gave a new breath to the Jacobites and the tartan clad Highlanders - was no exception to it. Yet it is uncertain to what extent Scott became the hero of the Scottish populace, as Scott's literary works are noticeable by their absence from the catalogue of the Lauriston Castle Collection, which might be partly ascribed to the point that

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[11] Anon., *Five Excellent New Songs, The Banks of Clyde, Logie O' Buchan, The Old Man's Song, Every Man to his Station, The Parting Kiss* (Edinburgh, n. d.), p. 7.
[12] G. Morton, 'Political Reform and National Identity in Nineteenth- century Edinburgh' (paper presented to Scottish Labour History Conference, 1998), p. 6. I am grateful to Dr Morton for letting me refer to this paper.
[13] Quoted in ibid., p. 5.

Scott's publishers would not allow any chapbook versions.[14] What, however, is certain is the image evoked by Scott and the romantic writers, was also available in the form of chapbooks among the lower strata of Scottish society by the mid-nineteenth century. The series of chapbooks titled *The Scottish Minstrel*, published in 1850, included a couple of songs of Romanticised Scotland. One song 'Hurra for the Highlands' was an example of how the Highlands were perceived by the Scottish people (or how the poet desired the people to see). The first stanza gives the newly dominant cliché of the Highlanders and the Highlands, giving perfect resonance to the vision of Scott and the RAPFAS:

> Hurra for the Highlands, the stern Scottish Highlands,
> The home of the clansman, the brave, and the free;
> Where the clouds love to rest on the mountain's rough
> Ere they journey afar o'er the islandless sea.[15]

The image of the Highlands being a cosy community was now to occupy a central place in Scotland itself, which differed from the images evoked in either the Covenanter chapbooks or the Reformist chapbooks:

> I have trode merry England and dwelt on its charms,
> I have wander'd through Erin, the gem of the sea:
> But the Highlands alone, the true Scottish heart warms,
> Her heather is blooming, her eagles are free.
> Then Hurra for the Highlands, &c.[16]

'Hurra for the Highlands' is just one of the examples of this sentimental view on Scottishness: cosy, simple, robust and romantic, which was shared by other songs in

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[14] There is no entry for Walter Scott's literary works in the Catalogue. One exception is his instruction for Edinburgh citizen to receive the King in 1822 George IV's visit to Scotland. This, however, does not suggest Scott was not read by chapbook reading public. Like Burns, some of his poetry works were printed under anonym (and probably without Scott's permission). For example, a song titled 'The MacGregor's gathering' is attributed to Scott. (cf. Anon., *Seven of the most popular songs, The Bridal ring, What are you going to stand, The lassies of Scotland, The MacGregor's gathering, Farewell to the mountain, The banks of the blue Mozelle, 'Tas merry in the hall* (Glasgow, n. d.), pp. 6-7.

[15] Anon., *The Scottish Minstrel containing a selection of the most popular songs of Scotland as sung by Wilson, Templeton, &c*, 1st series (Glasgow, 1850), p. 2.

the same series of popular songs. One point which is noteworthy is that this series of impressions - derived from songs - was not concerned with the politics of class or the discontent of the low-wage earners. Nor was the nationhood in these chapbooks constructed on the plot of the nation versus tyranny. In short, these images were neutralised in terms of domestic politics. In their version of the land of glen and flood, no-one was excluded from the nation but no-one seemed to be interested in politicising the nation. For instance, in a song 'Bonnie Scotland! I adore thee', geographical unification between the Highlands and the Lowlands was emphasised:

> When highlands and lowlands together unite,
> Their roses so fair to protect,
> 'Tis then my heart glows with love for the youth,
> Who the banner will ever protect...[17]

The newly created unified image of Scotland was important in the sense of not only the notion of nationhood, but also of a cultural commodity which could be sold in both British and international markets. In other words, no longer did Scottishness function as a force to unite sub-sections to form a politicised and organised group, as happened during the Napoleonic war and in the 1830s (for different purposes). The importance of Scott and his creation of the romantic nation hinged upon both domestic and international markets being filled with this image as 'true' Scotland. In other words, Scott taught the Scots how to look at their native nation, which was, in turn, exported to the outside of this nation of glen and loch. *Bonnie Charlie's Song-book*, printed in Newcastle, was an instance of Scottishness sold outside Scotland. Here, Charles was portrayed as 'King of the Highland hearts' and the Highlanders were as loyal and true to their King. Unlike Burns's poetry, these songs did not

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[16] Ibid., p. 2.

become a potent force to be consumed and utilised to unite a particular section of society in either a Scottish or an English nation to create organised Britishness, but which had a special appeal to a particular section of British society.[18]

It seems that the two decades between 1832 and 1850 saw fundamental change, if gradual and uneven, in the way the language of the nation was used. Parallel to this change, the notion of nationhood itself seemed to have different connotations than what used to be. These two developments in Scottishness and the language of nation were ascribed to changes in the people who used them. The reading public of chapbooks were in one sense open to both sides of the political spectrum and virtually all strata of society. In other words, what chapbooks offered to Scotland's nationhood was the mixture of identities which often contradicted each other, but could be complementary, too. If popular literature is defined as the literature which reflects the world-view of a coherent social populace, chapbooks can not be classified along the same lines – they are too diverse.

However, a romanticised view of Scottishness initiated by Scott and his followers, and institutionalised through the activities of the RAPFAS differs from the chapbook view of Scottishness in this account. As discussed in chapter six, the version of Scottishness in the engravings planned and distributed by the RAPFAS was the constituent as well as the representation of the group of people who had more cohesive and organised identity derived from their sense of location in Scottish society. In other words, what the engravings of the RAPFAS show was not only a particular vision of Scottishness but also the image of nationhood which essentially

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[17] Anon., *The Scottish Minstrel containing a selection of the most popular songs of Scotland as sung by Wilson, Templeton, &c*, 4th series (Glasgow, 1850), p. 2.
[18] Anon., *Bonnie Prince Charlie's Song-book* (Newcastle, n. d.), p. 2

belonged to one social group based on a certain set of collective identity: the middle classes. The question of how the notion of Scottish nationhood related to class identity is going to be examined in the next section.

3

The recent historiography of class in modern British society demonstrates that the key debates are far from settled.[19] While the inflexible nature of the concept in traditional Marxist accounts in nineteenth-century British society is well established, historians seem to have difficulty in offering a satisfactory alternative.[20]

The more recent development in the historiography of class shows historians shifting towards the language of class, and away from 'socio-economic analyses' or perceptions of 'class-consciousness'.[21] That is to say, there has been a realisation that 'class' was the language people in the past used to express their view on the world they lived in. In other words, such historians have argued that language was the main constituent of the so-called 'social reality' rather than its mere representation. The

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[19] The list is expanding. As for an overview of the debate, see J. Thompson, 'After the fall: class and political language in Britain, 1780-1900', *HJ*, xxxix (1996), and as for the meaning of class in the second part of the eighteenth century, Dror Wahrman's study is useful. D. Wahrman, Imagining the middle class: the political representation of class in Britain, c. 1780-1840 (Cambridge, 1995).

[20] Here, one of the most significant studies is E. P. Thompson, see his E. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondworth, 1981 ed.) and idem., 'Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class?', *SH* 3 (1978). The major criticism of Thompsonian view of class formation is found in C. J. Calhoun, *The question of class struggle: social foundations of popular radicalism during the industrial revolution* (Oxford, 1982), R. Gray, 'The languages of factory reform in Britain, c. 1830-1860', in P. Joyce (ed.), *The Historical meanings of work* (Cambridge, 1987) and M. Savage, *The remaking of the British working class, 1840-1940* (London, 1994).

[21] P. Joyce, *The Visions of People: industrial England and the question of class, 1848-1914* (Cambridge, 1991) and idem., *Democratic subjects: the self and the social in nineteenth-century England* (Cambrdige, 1994). N. Kirk, 'In defence of class, A critique of recent revisionist writing upon the nineteenth-century English working class', *International Review of Social History*, 32 (1987) However, Asa Briggs called for paying more attention to the usage of language in his seminal study of

language of class, therefore, is used in a wider sense, including not only verbal expression but also non-verbal signs. It is defined as a 'sign system', including both verbal and non-verbal communications (such as the usage of symbols and rituals).[22] The direction of such studies has seen the denial of class as the sole agent of history. Gareth Stedman Jones in his study of public language used in the Chartist movement, for instance, argued against the received view that this movement was class orientated in the sense of an economic relationship of exploiter and exploited. Instead, he recognised the long tradition of political radicalism among the Chartist newspapers.[23] Thus the issue raised in the language of class among them were political concerns rather than economic relationships.

Although he received fierce criticism from different directions, it was Stedman Jones that drew historians' attention to the significance (and the limits) of language in historical studies. Patrick Joyce is another historian who has turned his

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the kind, 'The Language of 'Class' in Early Nineteenth-Century England' in M. W. Flinn and T. C. Smout, *Essays in Social History* (Oxford, 1974).

[22] P. Joyce, *The Visions of the People*, p.17. For the usage of language in a wider sense, see J. Epstein, 'Understanding the Cap of liberty: Symbolic practice and social conflict in early-nineteenth century England', *P&P*, 122 (1989) and 'Rituals of Solidarity: Radical Dining, Toasting, and Symbolic Expression' in J. Epstein, *Radical Expression: political language, ritual, and symbol in England, 1790-1850* (New York, 1994). See also, P. A. Pickering, 'Class without words: symbolic communication in the Chartist Movement', *P&P*, 112 (1987), L. Hunt, *Politics, culture, and class in the French Revolution* (London, 1986) and F. O'Gorman, 'Campaign Rituals and Ceremonies: The social meaning of elections in England 1780-1860', *P&P*, 135 (1993), and J. Vernon, *Politics and the People. A study in English political culture, c. 1815-1867* (Cambridge, 1993). The usage of the language of class is found in P. J. Cordfield, 'Class by Name and Number in Eighteenth-Century Britain' and in idem. (ed.), G. Crossick, 'From gentlemen to the residuum: languages of social description in Victorian Britain', in Corfield (ed.), *Language, history and class* (Cambridge, 1991).

[23] G. S. Jones, 'Re-thinking Chartism' in his *The Language of Class: Studies in English Working-Class History* (Cambridge, 1983). As for the criticism of Stedman-Jones, see for example, Kirk, 'In defence of class, *passim*, Epstein, 'The cap of liberty in England', especially pp.75 and 117 and J. W. Scott, 'On Language, Gender, and Working-Class History', in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), especially, pp. 57-58. See also J. Lawrence and M. Taylor, 'The poverty of protest: Gareth Stedman Jones and the politics of language—a reply', *SH*, 18 (1993), p.13:

Languages of Class underestimates the problem of reception for a language-based analysis of politics. Its emphasis is overwhelmingly on the creative, innovatory power of formal political discourses, rather than on the complex, mutually transforming relationship between political languages and the informal lived discourses through which people understand their lives and the world around them

attention to language in order to study class history. His study of class in Victorian society starts by casting scepticism on the view that class is a settled issue. While Stedman Jones's scepticism of the received view is derived from his doubts on socio-economic determinism which in his opinion hardly took account of politics, Patrick Joyce questions the linear notion of class history, with the 1830s as the birth of class/class consciousness, nurtured through the Industrial Revolution.[24] What Joyce found troublesome in the received wisdom of class formation during the first half of the nineteenth century leads him to prioritise 'people' and 'populism' denoting 'social concord and human fellowship' based on extra-economic relationship.[25] His 'language of class' is also conceptualised as a set of non-conflictive identities containing notions of social justice and social reconciliation.[26]

By offering the alternative concepts of 'people' and 'populism', however, Joyce does not intend to replace 'class' with them. He emphasises the elusive and incoherent nature of identities and discourses, since they are, like 'culture', 'an ensemble of discordant meanings, each specific to its own social context', which also suggests the plurality of language and discourses as well as contexts and uses.[27] In

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[24] Joyce, *Visions of People*, p.3 A similar view is found in D. Wahrman, *Imagining the middle class : the political representation of class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.2-4.

[25] Joyce, *Visions of People*, p. 11.

[26] Richard Price criticises Joyce's conceptualisation of the people and populism. See, R. Price, 'Historiography, Narrative, and the Nineteenth Century', *JBS* 35 (1996), p. 232. Price also notices that differences between class and populism is while the former suggests a view of the world that posits something 'real' out there, the latter does not necessarily suggest any specific location and does not depend on the scholarship for its validation through the public political languages people use. See also, D. Mayfield and S. Thorne, 'Social history and its discontents: Gareth Stedman Jones and the politics of language', *SH* 17 (1992), especially p. 167, and P. Joyce, 'The imaginary discontents of social history: a note of response o Mayfield and Thorne, and Lawrence and Taylor', *SH* 18 (1993) for Joyce's counter points.

[27]Joyce, *Visions of People*, p. 12, and Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class*, p. 11. See also Gabriel Spiegel's study of medieval society and its relations to text describing the medieval society. G. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), p.77:

All texts occupy determinate social spaces, both as products of the social world of authors and as textual agents at work in that world, with which they entertain often complex and contestatory

other words, Joyce rejects the idea of 'class' as a sole agent in history to which any social phenomena could be deduced.

Joyce's emphasis on language is derived from his contention that social identities, being central to cultural and social history and forming social interests (including class), are in fact 'accomplished in and by language'.[28] Here, his concept of language and its role in history is, again, similar to that of Joan Scott. Language is used in sense of a sign system alongside the more traditional sense of verbal communication spoken and written. As Joyce sees language as a sign system, he speaks of the language of popular art including a discursive and non-discursive (meaning visual and theatrical) genre. This is where his notions of language and culture, 'a symbolising activity, a giving of meaning to the world in order to control it', cross over, which can be exemplified by what we have seen in the construction of Scottishness through chapbooks.

Joyce's dismissal of class as a sole agent of history stirred another lively debates among historians.[29] In general, the main criticism on Stedman Jones and

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relations. In that sense, texts both mirror *and* generate social realities, are constituted by *and* constitute the social and discursive formations which they may sustain, resist, contest, or seek to transform, depending on the case at hand.

[28] Joyce, *Visions of People*, p. 16.

[29] For instance, see N. Kirk, 'History, language, ideas and post-modernism: a materialist view', *SH*, 19 (1994). In his article, Kirk's criticism of Joyce (along with that of Stedman Jones) is three fold. Firstly, Kirk criticises Joyce and Stedman Jones for their linguistic determinism, by which Kirk believes that Joyce and Stedman Jones confounded representation with reality- '... no economy, no society, no cultural or political systems and structures, but only economic, social, cultural and political discourses' (ibid., p. 226). As for Stedman Jones's counterargument, see Stedman Jones, 'The Determinist Fix: Some Obstacles to the Further Development of the Linguistic Approach to History in the 1990s', *HWJ* 42 (1996), especially, p.30. Secondly, Kirk criticises the definition of class formulated by Joyce and Stedman Jones as being too narrow, too narrow in an 'economic' sense. Thirdly, Kirk contends that in his *Visions of People* Joyce does not investigate to what extent the sense of class was expressed. According to Kirk, nor does Joyce look into how these two languages (class and populism) are connected to each other at some specific point as well as throughout a certain period. The difference between Kirk and historians such as Joyce and Stedman Jones seems to lie in this point. In other words, they apparently have a different understanding of the word reality. While Kirk understands the word by referring to objective evidence such as figures, the latter historians seem

Joyce seems to hinge on the point that they are both neglecting and ignoring and precluding any *real* engagement between language, politics and the 'social'.[30]

What becomes apparent from the recent debates on the language of class is the uneven nature of development in class formation. On the one hand, especially in the first half of the century, working class consciousness, or the language of class which would constitute social and economic 'reality' as well as would reflect such reality, does not appear to occupy the status of the master narrative of British society, though it is difficult to dismiss such 'class' movement. Furthermore, the recent literature of working class formation in Scotland demonstrates that inter-class relations were not necessarily characterised by confrontations but by conciliations, negotiations and co-operations to a certain extent.[31] The point, however, is such a moment was expressed within the language of nation or radical patriotism till around the mid-century at least, as it is analysed above. On the other hand, the emergence of a more coherent middle class consciousness through organised activities of voluntary societies including the one we saw in chapter six should not be dismissed. For this emerging middle class, the way the language of nation was used by both radicals and the lower strata of society was not something they desired to subscribe to. Meanwhile, it was in employers' language that the word the 'labouring classes' and the 'industrious classes' more often appeared than in the language of labourers

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to understand the word as what Spiegel terms 'the semiotic codes that govern the representation of life both in writing and in incorporated social structures'. (Spiegel, 'Social Logic of the Text', p. 68.)

[30] Kirk, 'History and Post-modernism', p.236 (my italic). Language itself, in turn, is far from politically and socially neutral. T. Crowley reveals how national language of Britain- English- was actually influenced and dominated by the middle classes. *Language in History: Theories and Texts* (London, 1996), especially chapter 5.

[31] W. H. Fraser, *Conflict and Class Scottish workers 1700-1838* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 70-71, *Scottish Popular Politics*, pp. 18-19, Clark and Dickson, 'Birth of Class?' in Devine and Mitchison (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. I, pp.303-4 and idem., 'Class and class consciousness in early

themselves.[32] If the language of class (for both the middle class and working class) is so bound with the language of radicalism and of loyalism, how should class and national identity be understood?

Here the point made by historians such Stedman-Jones and Joyce seems useful. Instead of seeing that class is the master narrative of British society in the given period, class identity will be understood as a set of relationships which are fluid and situational. Like nation, class identity was also expressed and understood in narratives. In turn, the notion of Scottishness was defined and re-defined according to its users and at particular historical junctures. In other words, this process of defining and re-defining nationhood operated in the relationship between nation and other identities, but particularly so with social class.

Such a conceptualisation of class is useful to help us understand the notion of Scottishness as it was constructed in the language of nation. The construction of nationhood is based on the relationship between national identity and other identities, as we have conceptualised in the introduction, and now, like class, it is understood in terms of linguistic narratives. How, then, should we understand the dialectic between nation and class? As Linda Colley suggests, the received wisdom of British history after 1780 tends to dissect British society in terms of class formation, workplace relations and regional affiliations.[33] It is a truism that class formation, social tension

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industrial capitalism: Paisley, 1770-1850', in T. Dickson (ed.), *Capital and Class in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 42-3, 45-52.

[32] Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, p. 413.

[33] This could be partly explained by the classical Marxist socio-economic conceptualisation of both class and nation, as Margot Finn rightly points out. M. C. Finn, *After Chartism Class and nation in English radical politics, 1848-1874* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 28-30. For Karl Marx, a nation is an intrinsically bourgeois concept which would become hindrance to foster the internationalist working class consciousness, while he proclaims 'the nationality of the worker is neither French, nor English, nor German, it is labour' (quoted in ibid., p. 30). Thus, the formation of working class consciousness came to be separated from bourgeois conceptualised national consciousness, as Finn observes:

and regional distinctiveness tend to be studied without examining their relations to the issue of nationhood and nationalism, the historians of national identity tend to focus on national identity in relation to other nations without contemplation upon either the narratives of national identity or how national identity is related to class. The radical and lower orders' adaptation of the language of nation for their own end and the avowed concern of the state and the middling sorts with such patriotism, however, indicates that class and national consciousness are not discrete issues but the two sides of the same coin.[34] In other words, the language of nation itself was partly constructed on the dialectics of class *and* nation. This dialectical relationship was, in turn, tied to a particular historical circumstance which was in turn created by social, economic, political and cultural factors. These are the links upon which the narrative of nation is founded upon. The reasons for the lack of a perspective which analyses the meaning and purpose of national identity amongst the different social classes can be explained by the presupposition that the nature of national identity is a unitary and fixed, and that national identity binds different sections of society under the aegis of the word nation. While such a conceptualisation of national identity is not implausible (as the construction of Scottish nationhood in the loyalist chapbooks suggest), this presumption tells only half of the story of national identity. As we have

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If men and women, as Eric Hobsbawm astutely suggests, 'did not choose collective identifications as they chose shoes, knowing that one could only put on one pair at a time', Marxist historians have traditionally been doctrinaire in their refusal to acknowledge the mutuality of class, confessional, and national identities.

For opposite view regarding the interpretation of class and nation in marxist theory, see J. Foster, 'Nationality, Social Change and Class: Transformations of National Identity in Scotland', in D. McCrone, S. Kendrick and P. Strow (eds.), *The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture and Social Change* (Edinburgh, 1989), especially, pp. 39-44.

[34] Colley, 'Whose nation?', p. 100. As for the criticism of Colley's view from Marxist perspective, see E. P. Thompson, 'Which Britons?' in *Making History: Writing on History and Culture* (New York, 1994). Thompson's criticism is mainly concerned with Colley's emphasis on loyalism, though he admits the significance of popular loyalism in a limited period between 1803 and 1810.

seen in chapter four, it is equally important to understand *why* Scottishness was constructed as an identity that bound all strata of society around the term nation. It was but one of a range of lower and middle class identities.

This conceptualisation of class, then, is a set of relationships expressed in, and constituent of, language and written narratives. This concept of class has led us to see the value of defining and re-defining Scottish nationhood also in terms of narratives but ones based on the dialectics of nation and class. If this is indeed the case, what language did they use?

Chapters two to four discovered that Scottishness was constructed in chapbooks as "civil liberty", and represented by Wallace and Bruce (chapter two), religious freedom in the story of the later Covenanters (chapter three), and opposition to Otherness symbolised by the Jacobites, the Irish and Napoleon (chapter four). Each version of Scottishness itself was firmly embedded in the two dominant narratives: radicalism and loyalism (chapters three and four). While these two dominant discourses seem to be contradictory to each other, they had a common demand for, and determination of, participation in British political affairs through parliamentary Reform and fighting against Napoleonic France (chapter four). In other words, national identity was used to display and to legitimise political intention by both radicals and loyalists through the language presented in those chapbooks. And more significantly, the language of the nation in both sets of chapbooks was regarded by conservatives and the landed élite as a threat to their class power (as found in some chapbooks such as *Right and Equality, Constitution Organisation, and Kings* or *Carlop Green* as well as in Scott's *Visionary*). In this sense, the language of nationhood was patently constructed upon the dialectics of class and nation.

It was the particular working of this dialectic - as evidenced by the narratives of nation we have seen in this study - which explains the gradual withdrawal of radicals and the lower strata of society from using the language of nation for achieving their demands from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. From the beginning of our period up until the era of the early Chartists, one of the main issues for radicals and the lower echelon of society was to denounce the political illegitimacy of the British state as represented by the 'corrupt' Westminster parliament and oligarchy, and to legitimise their political activities by employing the language of nation which would justify their political acts in the name of the nation. Such concern was not confined to a particular social group, though the state and the landed classes tried to see this concern in class terms. With the exception of some republican movements, the radicals' political aim could be regarded as achievable by building the Scottish nation within the British nation-state. In their mind, the Scottish nation could exist in a politically legitimate British nation-state which would guarantee liberty. However, as Hugh Cunningham argues, the focus of the Chartists and their followers from the lower rank of society was gradually shifted to 'more economic and social, more determined to dwell on the peculiarities of industrial capitalism' through the Chartist movement.[35] Moreover, unlike their English counterparts, Scottish radicals and lower strata of society could not find a historical tradition which was effective and cohesive to buttress their creed.[36] As T. C. Smout shows, even during the height of the Radical War of 1820, it was Magna Carta and

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[35] Cunningham, 'the Language of patriotism', p. 70, and R. Duncan, 'Chartism in Aberdeen: Radical Politics and Culture 1838-48', in Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, Charter, and Party*, pp. 83-4.
[36] Davidson, *Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, p. 198.

the Bill of Rights which embodied the strikers' demand for freedom.[37] While Wallace and Bruce did not suffice to mobilise Scottish radical patriotism, the Covenanters did not fit their aim of achieving their version of Scottish nationhood within a British nation-state.[38] As Morton rightly points out, Wallace was used to mobilise support amongst almost all camps: unionist, nationalist, radicals, separatists alike.[39] In this sense, Sir Walter Scott was no exception to this usage of historical icons for the milliard of purposes already discussed. After his death, while he became an icon couched in the language for the Reform Bill Movement (which presented Scott as a radical patriot), the Scott monument was built by a committee whose members were the representation of the Scottish (and English) bourgeoisie.[40]

Thus, while radicals and the lower strata of society gradually withdrew from the language of nation to legitimise their activity, the language of nation was re-adapted and dominated by the Scottish bourgeoisie in the form of the political movements such as the National Association of the Vindication of Scottish Rights, much pamphlet publications, and in the press and privately. For these nationalists, and the active members of Scotland's bourgeoisie, the demand was to continue governing Scotland under the auspices of a de-centralised British state, where centralisation of that Westminster government would, they argued, result in provincialisation and denationalisation of Scotland.[41] In this sense, their language of nation was constructed on the notion of nation versus other nations, Scotland against Britain and other British constituent nations. The language of class was muddied and

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[37] Smout, *Century of the Scottish People*, p. 236.
[38] W. H. Fraser, 'The Scottish Context of Chartism', in Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, Charter, and Party*, p. 74.
[39] G. Morton, 'The Most Efficacious Patriot', pp. 248-51.
[40] Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, pp. 163-72, and idem., 'Political Reform and National Identity', pp.

indeed ignored in a bourgeois construction of the nation and its state. Meanwhile, a romanticised view of Scottish nationhood symbolised by tartan-clad Bonnie prince and the picturesque landscape was found to be a useful tool to promote domestic unification of Scotland in a geographical sense without evoking a radical sentiment to cause tension between the governing and the governed in Scotland. Because such an image of nationhood was geographically as well as socio-politically neutral, it was available to almost all strata of society through the institutionalisation of Scottishness represented here by the activities of the RAPFAS and chapbooks as well as periodicals. This bourgeois version of nationhood came to dominate over all other sections of society.

This account of Scottish nationhood constructed in the chapbooks of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as well as Scott's literary works, mid-nineteenth century historiography and the RAPFAS engravings, demonstrate that the nature of historical icons were malleable and elusive, not being bound to a particular identity all the time. If the meaning and usage of these historical icons were malleable and flexible, so was the nature and the meaning of the identities themselves. National identity was, in turn, used to express the sense of political legitimacy and the sense of class shared by the Scottish bourgeoisie at a particular historical juncture.

What we have outlined above indicates that the notion of nationhood found in sources used in this study can be understood through the dialectical relationship of the language of nation and that of class rather than through base and structure or political parties. And in this dialectical relationship, each of nation and class is not

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[41] Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, pp. 150-52.

only reinforced, but, at other times is undermined, particularly for and by the radical and non-bourgeois sections of society. Accordingly, class is not the master narrative of Scottish history during the given period, especially in relation to the perception of Scottishness examined throughout this study. What characterises the notion of Scottishness during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries is its multiplicity which was partly formed through the dialectics of nation and class. And the dynamics of this dialectic was situational and malleable rather than static or mechanical.

Conclusion

This study started with a question: what did the word Scotland mean to Scottish people of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries? The answers to this question have been sought by examining how people expressed their notion of nationhood as well as what influenced on the process of perceiving Scottishness. In particular, the thesis has placed its focus on how such a notion of nationhood was constructed in the language of nation which had been expressed through four genres such as chapbooks, historical novels, historiography and engravings.

Mainly, there are three factors which seemed to play a major role in this process of construction of Scottish national identity during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Firstly, the perception of Scottishness was expressed in and formed by the language of nation. While this language of nation was configured and re-configured in relation to other languages such as class, as we have conceptualised in chapter one, language itself is the reflection of society in which it

is spoken and, in turn, society is formed by language. In other words, the language of nation is the representation of and constituent of its users' worldview. The thesis has also put an emphasis on the malleability and situational nature of such language of nation, not only because a particular meaning ascribed to the language of nation can only make sense at a particular historical juncture, but also that each cultural form (and each culture itself) was not fixed with a particular social group. As it is defined in chapter one, popular culture is conceptualised as 'open': open in terms of its subscribers. In other words, the same language of nation could have various connotations for a wide range of subscribers at different times.

Secondly, the 'selfhood' and 'otherness' of national identity are defined and re-defined internally and externally. Internally, Scottishness was constructed through the relations between nation and other identities. In particular this study has examined the role of the relationship of nation to class identity in the process of constructing Scottishness. Externally, the selfhood of the Scottish nation was configured in relation to other nations, as we have examined the relationship between Scottishness and Britishness. These two definitions of Scottishness - internal and external respectively - were, in turn, related to each other, which were configured according to its users and particular historical situations. At times, one definition is chosen over the other, and the notion of the Scottish nation was constructed on the interaction of these two definitions. In particular, in the cases of Bruce and Wallace, Covenanter and loyalist chapbooks, although there is a marked difference in their political ends, both radical and loyalist camps used the same language of nation: the nation (liberty) versus tyranny (chapters two, three and four). In contrast to the use of the language of the nation versus tyranny, Scott's historical novels, academic

historiography and the engravings distributed by the RAPFAS were notable for the absence of such a conceptualisation of language of nation (chapter five and six).

Thirdly, as we have seen amongst the chapbooks, the medium of the language of nation, in which, the language of nation was expressed, is not fixed in terms of its content and functions. The contents and functions of the chapbooks changed according to the author-reader relations as well as historically particular situations. In other words, the media in which the language of nation varied, and again like the two definitions of national identity, one was chosen over another or both were mixed. Such an outcome was also found in media other than the chapbooks. As was seen in chapter six, these intermediaries of the language of nation influenced each other. While Scott's *Lady of the Lake* inspired Horatio McCulloch to paint *Lake Katrin*, John Thomson of Duddingston's *Fast Castle on a Calm Day* was spurred Scott to present a description of Wolf's Crag Castle in *The Bride of Lammermoor*. Chapter seven also demonstrated this influence of one cultural medium over another, by showing that the mid-nineteenth century Scottish chapbooks adapted the romanticised notion of Scottish nationhood formulated by Scott. In turn, Scott himself was 'radicalised' through an obituary in a popular magazine.

It was, then, the interaction of these three factors which contributed to create the multiplicity and fluidity of Scottishness in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

Appendix A
The Chapbook List for H. Crawford

1. *The cheery and the sloe. Corrected and modernised The old spelling being mostly altered, except where Rhime makes it necessary to preserve the old. By J.D. Written originally By Capt Alex Montgomery. First printed in the year 1597.* (1817)

2. Crawford tracts no 4 *An elegy on Sir Robert Grierson of lag, who died December 23rd, 1753. Or The Prince of Darkness' lamentation for the laird of Lag and others shewing The Commendation of many of his best Friends, who were chief Promoters of his interest, and upholders of his kingdom in the time of Persecution. Very useful and necessary to be read by all who desire to be well informed concerning the chief Managers of the late Persecuting Period.* (1817)

3. *Profit and Loss: or the Christian merchant. Mat. Xvi. 26. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Also an address to the Unfortunate Female. Shewing How she may be delivered from trouble, and become truly happy.* (1818)

4. *The History of Redmond O'Hanlon, captain of the Irish robbers giving An Account of the numerous Robberies committed by him and his Gang. With many curious Anecdote of his Life and Transactions.* (1820)

5. *Account of The Royal Visit of George the IVth to Scotland* (1822)

6. *A Brief inquiry into the origin and tendency of sacramental preaching days. To which is added, an advice to youth* (1822)

7. *The golden dreamer; or Dreams Realised containing the interpretation of a great variety of dreams, disclosing to the Inquisitive the secrets of Futurity.* (1824)

8. *Narrative of the Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge* (1825)

9. *Roman Catholic Cruelties, in the murders, burning, hangings, and impalings of the protestants by the papists, in Piedmont, Savoy, Bohemia, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, france, Italy, Scotland and Ireland. Compile from an old and scare Work. And fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear him who is able to kill both soul and body in hell.*

And he that taketh not his cross and followth me is, not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall his life find it. New Test. (1825)

10. *Laugh and grow fat! Or, the comical Budget of wit. A selection of choice bon mots, Irish Blunders, Repartees, Anecdotes, &c. Care to our coffins adds a nail, no doubt, While every laugh, so merry one out.* (1825)

11. *Memoir of the Reverend David Wilson, The late Pious and Learned Minister of the United Associate Congregation of Old Cumnock. Also, an account of his funeral, and An elegy to his memory. With A selection of his favourite sonnets From the Rev. Ralph Erskine's Works.* (1825)

12. *The Advantages and Disadvantages of the married State, as entered into with Religious or Irreligious Persons. Delivered under the similitude of a dream. Improved and amended. By John Bunyan, Jun.* (1826)

13. *The Madrid Shaver's Adventures in the Spanish Inquisition.* (1827)

14. *The Spaewife; or, universal fortune-teller Wherein your future welfare may be known Physignomy- Cards- Palmistry- and Coffee Grounds. Also a distinct treatise on moles by an astrologer* (1827)

15. *Daniel O'Rourke's wonderful voyage to the moon also master and man or the Adventures of Billy MacDaniel* (1827)

16. *The Voyages and Adventures of the Renowned Admiral Drake, who sailed Round the World, and assisted in destroying the Spanish Armada, which came to Invade England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.* (1827)

17. *Hocus Pocus; or the whole art of Legerdemain in perfection: By which any one may Perform the most strange and curious tricks of Sleight of Hand, with Cards, Rings Fire, Ribbons, Money, &c without teacher. To which are now added Numerous new and Rare inventions, such as were before seen in print. By Henry Dean The sixteenth edition. With large additions and Amendments.* (1827)

18. *The Toast-master's companion; a collection of the best and newest loyal, patriotic, military, naval, love, masonic, drinking, sporting, and miscellaneous toasts and sentiments.* (1827)

19. *A collection of Scots Proverbs, containing all the wise Sayings and Pithy Observations of the old people of Scotland. By Allan Ramsay the famous Scots poet I will hae books gin I suld sell my kye. VOX POPULI VOX DEI That maun be true that a' Men say.* (1829)

20. *The Advantages and Disadvantages of the married State, as entered into with Religious or Irreligious Persons. Delivered under the similitude of a dream. Improved and amended. By Philanthropist* (n.d.)

AppendixB
The Battle of Bannockburn; An Old Heroic Ballad.

Fought on the 24th June, 1314, by King Robert Bruce, with an army of 30,000, against King Edward II. with an army of 300,000 men.

(Edinburgh, n.d.)
Published for the Booksellers in Town and Country.

The Battle of Bannockburn.

1 In days of did Scottish bards,
Our heroes' acts proclaim,
And' 'mong the chief was Robert Bruce,
A king of nobles fame

2 After the death of Wallace wight,
(Butcher'd at London town),
The English overpower'd the land,
And claim'd the Scottish crown.

3 Most of the forts were in their hands,
Stirling, Bothwell, Dunbar.
And nothing could redeem the land
But hot and bloody war.

4 Our noble King, for want of men,
Was forc'd in woods to lie,
Till fortune's wheel turn'd up her spoke,
And rais'd his courage high.

5 The gallant chieftains of the land
Unto their King have flown,
And vow'd to die thro' sweet revenge,
Than bear the English frown.

6 The forts and castles they retook,
And made the English flee;
Rutherglen's stout Peel they reduc'd,
And then they took Dundee.

7 Bold Moubray Stirling castle kept,
(A place of noted fame,)
And when the Scots laid siege thereto,
He would not yield the same.

8 At last a treaty he did make,
For twelve months and a day,
If Edward did not him relieve,
He then should march away.

9Thus peace procliam'd on every side,
Both did their freedom use;
For Moubray did to London ride,
And told the king the news.

10 And is the Scots so mad, he said,
To give so long delay?
I trust that long ere that time come,
They shall be slaves or clay.

11 England and Ireland's choicest men,
Were well armed all cap-a-pee,
With Wales, and likewise Normandy,
For such was his decree.

12 Full many an English merchant came
The captive Scots to buy,
With waggons full of ropes and chains,
To bind them, least they'd fly.

13 King Robert south from Stirling fix'd
His standard firm in stone,
Which yet for a memorial stands
That same hill-top upon.

14 Between St Ninians and Chartersha',
You'll see it as you pass,
There the royal pavilion stood,
Before the battle was.

15 To him there came the men of Bute,
Of Carrick, and of Kyle,
With many gallant Highland chiefs,
The flower of all the isle.

16 The leading chiefs were Edward Bruce,
Earl of Murray that gallant wight,
Doughty Douglas and Walter Stuart,
Well us'd to many a fight.

17 His brother Edward led the light,
The Earl of Murray the left;
Brave Douglas and Sir Walter Stuart
The main body they taught;

18 In front our brave king Robert rode,
And thus address'd them all:
If there be any cowards here,
That are afraid to fall,

19 Let them retire before the fight,
And drag their servile chains;
While we, for Scotland's liberty,
Will drain our dearest veins.

20 See how the Southern lowns approach,
And think that we will fly;
Then let us forward to the fight,

And either do or die.

21 So spoke the gallant Bruce, and all
His men, with loud huzzas,
Cry'd, eager to be led to charge,
We'll die for freedom's cause.

22 Between them and their foes they'd dug
Into the boggy ground,
Ditches and pits, with sharpen'd stakes,
The Southern to confound.

23 They made cramp-irons and crow-toes
Among the grass to lie,
While rushes, floating on the mud,
Deceiv'd the English eye.

24 Upon a rising ground they stood,
View'd how the English came,
All shining like the rising sun;
Their army seem'd a flame.

25 The hills and dales did echo make,
Their trumps so loud did blow,
Whilst ev'ry blast predicted death,
And Scotland's overthrow.

26 The King by chance looking about,
With wonder did espy
Eight hundred mounted cap-a-pee,
Who did on horseback fly;

27 Below St Ninians, cross the burn,
They made for Stirling town.
He called Earl Murray with speed,
Who was charge'd to keep that ground.

28 A rose is from your chaplet fallen,
On yonder ground doth lie;
Redeem your honour now with grace;
See how the English fly.

29 The Earl, abash'd at this rebuke,
The rage he rode away,
With two hundred warriors, horsemen all,
The bold Clifford to stay.

30 He got between them and town;
Be-west from Livilands,
Where two stones, as a memorial,
Unto this day there stands.

31 Now Clifford, with an art in war,
Enclos'd the Scots about,
While Murray order'd back to back,
His horse were not so stout.

32 The king beheld them from a hill,
And thought brave Murray gone:
Douglas implored him to aid,
But the King said let alone.

33 But yet at length he gave consent,
But e'er he got half through,
The English horse in scores came off,
Toom saddles not a lew.

34 Then Douglas stopt and gave a cheer,
When Murray, turn'd again,
He laid bold Clifford on the field,
With most part of his men.

35 But ere they reach'd the king again,
The English van was come
To view the field on their south front,
Led by the fam'd Bohun.

36 The king, afraid they should perceive
His crafty trap too soon,
Across the field in person rode
On purpose to be known.

37 Then Bohun, on a courser bright,
In furious rage came on,
Seeing the king so poorly clad,
And by himself alone.

38 The king perceiving well his aim,
Soon check'd his horse aside,
And struck him with his battle axe,
His helmet could not bide;

39 It clove him to the very teeth,
The blood and brains out flew;
Bohun fell gasping to the ground,
In both the armies' view.

40 With prayers, and hymns, and orisons,
Scots camp that night did ring,
While English oaths, from side to side,
For Sweet revenge did spring.

41 Both armies long'd for brake of day,
Although the night was short,
The Scots took solemn sacrament
before the bloody sport:

42 first charge on the left began,
The English horse took flight,
Where hundreds tumbled in the ditch,
To Scots a pleasant sight.

43 Then Murray fiercely on them set,
And did no mercy show,
While men and horse stuck in the mire,
And could no further go.

44 Then came the flower of English troops,
All mounted cap-a-pee,
Which joined a confused crowd,

And fought promiscuously.

45 The doughty Scots were near undone,
The had too much ado,
Till Murray had his battle done,
And came to their rescue.

46 But now the battle general was,
And spreading o'er the land,
Fresh English troops still marching on,
By their fierce king's command:

47 When on the top of Gillies-Craig,
Appeared in their sight,
A crowd, like twenty thousand men,
Which were no men of fight;

48 But wives and old decrepit men,
Some lasses and young boys,
With plaids and sheets waving on poles,
Who made a warlike noise.

49 The English soon perceived this,
With terror and affright,
And judg'd their safety was not sure,
So every man took a warlike noise.

50 Their king in Stirling would have staid,
But Moubray told him no,

51 Your safety's home to England flee,
And thro' yon carse to ride;
Go while the fighting still goes on,
I'll with you send a guide.

52 A little be-west the Saughen ford,
Dy'd Glocester the bold;
That ground unto this very day
Find find your overthrow.
For there in haste you'll be enclos'd,
Is call'd the "Fighting Fold."

53 The English now were fairly beat,
And Edward fled away,
Whom Douglas with two troops of horse,
Chac'd forty miles that day.

54 So eagerly he was pursued,
And got to him so near,
He was on point of being ta'en,
But got into Dunbar.

55 To Berwick, in a fishing boat,
They sculled him away,
While to be kept from wrath of Scots,
He earnestly did pray.

56 Hereford to Bothwell castle fled,
And there was soon brought out,
The only gen'ral left alive
Of all king Edward's rout;

57 And ransom'd was for Robert's queen,
And his sweet daughter dear,
Who captive had in London been,
Fed on mean English cheer.

58 The fatal expedition
Which on the Scots was made,
Where fifty thousand lives were lost,
Of nobles seven hundred.

59 Of Scots that day lay on the field
Four thousand men and more,
Yet gain'd the fame by sword and shield,
Which was long lost before.
FINIS

AppendixC
An account of the Battle of Bannockburn.

Prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer;
The Ancient Scotch Prophet, containing the wonderful fulfilment of many of his Predictions; and those not yet accomplished.
Collected, Examine, and now promulgated by Mr Allan Boyd, F.S.A. Sub-Deputy janitor's Clerk in the College of Hayti. With, subjoined, an account of the Battle of Bannockburn, so fatal to Tyranny, and favourable to the Scottish Independence.
Also the Cottager's Saturday night.
(Stirling, 1828) By W. Macnie, Bookseller.

1 Edward II of England, kept up the same claim upon Scotland, which his father had began; and after several unsuccessful attempts to establish it, he resolved to make a great effort and with one blow reduce that turbulent nation, which had put so many signal affront upon his father and himself.

2 In the spring, 1314, he assembled the most numerous army that had ever crossed the borders, composed of different nations, amounting to above a hundred thousand effective men, beside a huge multitude of attendants, who came along in hopes of sharing in the plunder of a conquered enemy. At the head of these he marched northward, with an uncommon parade, and in full confidence of victory.

3 Robert Bruce, the son of that Robert Bruce who held a conference with Wallace upon the backs of the Carron, and grandson to him who had been competitor with Baliol, had, in 1306, been crowned King of Scotland; and being informed of Edward's formidable preparations, he raised an army of thirty thousand of his subjects, to oppose him. This armament bore but a small proportion to that of Edward's, but it was composed of soldiers, who were hardened by long practice of war, and who now carried upon the point of their sword, liberty and honour, and everything that was dear to them. With these Robert took up his station in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and waited for Edward's arrival.

4 Two armies came in sight of each other, in the month of June; and soon after, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Scots obtained a victory, the most celebrated of any in the annals of that kingdom. The procedure of this memorable event was as follows:-

5 The English having marched from Edinburgh to Falkirk in one day, and upon the morrow, setting out thence towards, Stirling, encamped to the northward of Torwood. About Upper Bannockburn, and backward upon the muir of Plean, in the neighbourhood of the Roman Causeway, [p.14] pieces of broken pots, and other vessels, have been found; and upon rocks near the surface, marks of fire have been discovered, where it was supposed the soldiers had made ready their provisions. Barbour, the author of King Robert Bruce's lide, speaks as if their camp has stretched so far northward as to occupy a par of Carse Ground; and so vast a multitude must doubtless have covered a large tract of the country.

6 The Scottish army was posted about a mile to the northward, upon several small eminences, south from the present village of St. Ninians. Upon the summit of one of these eminences, now called Brock's-Brae, is a stonesunk into the earth, with a round hole in it, near three inches in diameter, and ,uch the same in depth, in which, according to tradition, King Robert's standard was fixed, the royal tent throwing been erected near it. This stone is well known in that neighbourhood by the name of the Bore-stone. The small river of Bannockburn, remarkable for its steep and rugged banks, ran in a narrow valley between the two camps,

7 The castle of Stirling was still in the hands of the English. Edward Bruce, the King's brother, had, in the spring of the year, laid siege to it, but found himself obliged to abandon the enterprize; only by a treaty between that Prince and Moubray, the Governor, it was agreed, that, if the garrison received no reliefes from England before a year expired, they should surrender to the Scots.

8 The day preceding the battle, a strong body of cavalry, to the number of eight hundred, was detached from the English camp, under the conduct of Lord Clifford, to the relief of that garrison. These having marched through some hollow grounds, upon the edge of the Carse, had passed the

Scots army before they were observed. The King himself was the first that perceived them, and desiring Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, to look towards the place where they were, told him, that a rose had fallen from his chaplet. Randolph considering this as are approach, because he had the charge of that part through which the English had marched, immediately set out after them with a party of five-hundred horse, and coming up with them in the plain where the same village of New-House now stands, a sharp action ensued; in sight of both armies, and of the garrison of Stirling. It was fought with valour on both sides; and it was for some time doubtful where victory should turn. King Robert, attended by some of his officers, beheld this re-encounter from a rising ground, supposed to be the round hill, immediately upon the west of St. Ninians, now called Cock-shot-hill. James Douglas, perceiving the distress of Randolph, who was greatly inferior to the enemy in number, asked leave to go to support. This King Robert at first refused, but afterwards consented. Douglas put his soldiers in motion; observing, however, as his he was on the way, that the victory was upon the point of being won without his assistance, he stopped short, that his friend might have unrivalled glory of it. - The English were entirely defeated, and many of them slain; and Randolph returned to the camp amidst acclamations of universal joy. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, two stones were reared up in the field, and are still to be seen there. They stand in a spot which has lately been enclosed for a garden at the north end of the village of New House, and about a quarter of mile from Borough-Port of Stirling.

9 This victory gave new spirits to the whole army, and made them so eager for the general engagement, that the night, though among the shortest of the year, seemed long to them. At length appeared the dawn of that important day, which was to decide whether Scotland was henceforth to be an independent kingdom, or subject to a foreign yoke. Early all was in motion in both armies; religious sentiments were mingled with the military ardour of the Scots: a solemn mass, in the manner of those times, was said by the Abbot of Inchaffery, a monastery in Strathearn, who also administered the sacrament to the king, and the great officers about him; while inferior priests did the same to the rest of the army. After this, they formed in order of battle, in a track of ground called Nether Touchadam, which has along the deliverity if gentle rising hill. This situation had been previously chosen, because of advantages. Upon the right they had a range if steep rocks, now called Murray's Craig, and in their front were steep banks of the rivulet of Bannockburn. Not far behind them was wood, some vestiges of which still remain. Upon the left was the morass, now called Milton-bog, from its vicinity to a small village of that name; much of this bog is still undrained, and a part of it is at present a mill-dam. As it was then middle of summer, it was almost quite dry. But King Robert had resource to a stratagem in order to prevent any attack from that quarter. He had ordered many ditched and pits to be dug in the morass, and stakes sharpened at both ends to driven into them, and the whole to be covered over again with green turf, so that the ground had still the appearance of being firm. He also caused crow-feet, or sharp-pointed irons to be scattered throughout the morass; some of which have been found there in the memory of people still living; the same manoeuvres were likewise carried on for a little way, along the front of the left wing; for there the banks for about two hundred yards, being flatter than they are anywhere else, it was the only place where the enemies could pass the river in any sort of order. By means of these artificial improvements, joined to the natural strength of the ground, the Scotch army stood as within an intrenchment, the concealed batteries of modern times.

10 Among the other occurrences of this memorable day, historians mention an incident of a singular nature. As the two armies were about to engage, the Abbot of Inchaffery posting himself before the Scots with a crucifix in his hand, they all fell down upon their knees in act of devotion. The enemy, observing them so much uncommon a posture concluded that they were frighted unto submission, and that, by kneeling when they should be ready to fight, they meant to surrender at discretion, and only begged their lives; but they were soon deceived, when they saw them arise again, and stand to their arms with steady countenances.

11 The English began the action by a brisk charge upon the left wing of the Scots, commanded by Randolph, near the spot where the bridge is now thrown over the river at the small village of Chartershall. Hereabout was the only place where the river could be crossed in any order.- A large body of cavalry advance to attack him in front, while another fetched a compass to fall upon his flank and rear, but before they could come to a close engagement, they fell into the snare that had been laid for them. Many of their horses were soon disabled by the sharp irons rushing into their feet, others tumbled into the concealed pits, and could not disentangle themselves. Pieces of the harnessing, with bits of broken spears, and other armour, still continue to be dug up in the bog.

12 In the beginning of the engagement, an incident happened, which though in itself of small moment, was rendered important by its consequences. King Robert was mounted on horseback, carrying a battle-axe in his hand, and upon his helmet he wore a high turban, in the form of a crown, by way of distinction. This, together with his activity, rendered him very conspicuous as he rode before the lines. An English Knight named Bohun, who was ranked among the bravest in Edward's army, came galloping furiously up to him, in order to engage with him in single combat, expecting by so eminent an act of chivalry, at once to put amend to the contest and gain immortal renown to himself, but the enterprising champion, having missed his blow, was immediately struck dead with the battle-axe which the King carried in his hand. This was a sort of signal for the charge. So bold an attack upon their King, filled the Scots with sentiments of revenge; and the heroic achievement performed by him before their eyes, raised their spirits to the highest pitch; they rushed furiously upon the enemy, who, having by this time passed the river in great numbers, gave them a warm reception.

13 A singular occurrence, which some accounts represent as an accidental sally of patriotic enthusiasm, others as a premeditated stratagem of King Robert, suddenly alerted the face of affairs, and contributed greatly to the victory. All the servants and attendants of the Scottish army, who, are said to have amounted to twenty thousand, had been ordered, before the battle, to retire behind Murray's Craig. But having, during the engagement, arranged themselves in a martial form they marched to the top of the hill, and displaying banners, moved towards the field of battle with hideous shouts. The English perceiving this motely crowd, and taking them for a fresh reinforcement advancing to support the Scots, were seized with so great a panic, that they began to give way in confusion. Buchanan says, that the King of England was the first who fled; but in this he contradicts all other historians, who affirm that he pursued; and great was the slaughter among the enemy, especially in passing the river, where they could keep no order, because of the irregularity of the ground. King Edward himself escaped with much difficulty, being closely pursued above forty miles, by Sir James Douglas, with a party of light horse. He was upon the point of being taken prisoner when he was received into the Castle of Dunbar by the Earl of March, who conveyed him to England by sea, in a fisher's boat; his immense army being entirely discomfited. The Scots lost only four thousand men; while the loss of the English amounted to above thirty thousand.

AppendixD
P. F. Tytler, *The History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1828-41) 1864 edition

Preface: "In the composition of the present work, I have anxiously endeavoured to examine the most authentic sources of information, and to convey to my reader a true picture of the time without prepossession of partiality. To have done so, partakes more of the nature of a grave duty than of a merit; and even after this has been accomplished, there will remain ample room for many imperfections. If, in the execution of my plan, I have been obliged to differ on some points of importance from authors of established celebrity, I have fully stated the grounds of my opinion in the Notes and Illustrations, which are printed at the end of each volume; and I trust that I shall not be blames for the freedom of my remarks, until the historical authorities upon which they are founded have been examined and compared."

p. 113: "Edward... made immense preparations for the succour of the fortress of Stirling. He summoned the whole military force of his kingdoms to meet [p.114] him at Berwick on the 11th of June. To this general muster ninety-three barons... were commanded to repair with horse and arms, and their entire feudal service; whilst the different counties in England and Wales were ordered to raise the body of twenty-seven thousand foot soldiers... it is certain that the accumulated strength which the king commanded exceeded a hundred thousand men, including a boy of forty thousand cavalry... With this great force, Edward prepared to take the field... he held his way through Lincolnshire to York and Newcastle, and met his army at Berwick...

Meanwhile, Bruce aware of the [p.115] mighty force which was advancing against him, had not been idle. He appointed a general muster of his whole army in the Torwood, near Stirling, and here he found that the greatest force which could be collected did not amount to forty thousand fighting men... He at once, therefore, resolved to fight on foot and to draw up his army in ground where cavalry could not act with effect, and where the English, from their immense numbers, would be cramped and confined in their movements. ... Bruce, having carefully examined the ground, determined that his right win should rest on the rivulet called Bannockburn, whose broken and wooded banks afforded him an excellent security against being out-flanked... Bruce did not leave the defence of his left to this negative security; for in a filed hard by, so firm and level that it afforded favourable ground for cavalry, he caused many rows of parallel pits to be dug, a foot in breadth, and about three feet deep. In these pits he placed pointed stakes, with a number of sharp iron weapons, called in Scotland *calthrops*(Tytler's italic), and covered them carefully with sod, do that the ground, apparently level, was rendered impassable to horse.

...The principal leaders of the Scottish army were Sir Edward Bruce, the king's brother, Sir James Douglas, Randolph, earl of Murray, and Walter, the High Steward of Scotland.

...Soon after word was brought that the English army had lain all night at Edinburgh. This was on Saturday evening, the 22nd of June, and early in the morning of Sunday the soldiers heard the mass.... Bruce then caused proclamation to be made that all who did not feel fully resolved to win the field or to die with honour had at the moment free liberty to [p.116] leave the army; but the soldiers raised a great shout, and answered with one accord that they were determined to abith the enemy.

The king now arranged his army in a line consisting of three square columns, or battles, of which he intrusted the command of the vaward, or centre, to the Earl of Murray. His brother Edward led the right, and the left was given to Sir James Douglas and Walter, the Steward of Scotland.

...Although this was not exactly the case, the rash character of Edward led him to commit some errors in the disposal of his troops, which led to fatal consequences... Upon advancing from Falkirk early in the morning, and when the English host was only two miles distant from the Scottish army, Edward despatched an advance party of eight hundred cavalry, led by Sir Robert Clifford, with order to outflank the enemy and throw themselves into Stirling Castle. Bruce had looked for this movement, and had command Randolph, his nephew, to be vigilant in repelling any such attempt... Unable to make any impression upon Randolph's square by this first attack, the English more leisurely to surround him on all sides, and by a second furious endeavoured to break the line... [p.117] All this passed in the sight of Bruce, who was surrounded by his officers. At length Sir James Douglas earnestly requested to be allowed to go with a reinforcement to his relief. "You shall not stir a foot from your ground", said the King, "and let Randolph extricate himself as best he

can... "My liege", answered Douglas, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish when I may bring him help; so by your leave I must away to his succour." Bruce unwillingly consented, and Douglas immediately held his way towards Randolph.

By this time the King of England had brought up his main army, and ordered a halt for the purpose of consulting with his leaders whether it were expedient to join battle that same day, or take a night to refresh his troops... Bruce rode forward alone to make some new arrangements... He was at this time in front of his own line, meanly mounted on a hackney, but clad in full armour, with his battle-axe in his hand, and distinguished from his nobles by a small crown of gold surmounting his steel helmet. On the approach of the English vaward, led by the Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, Sir Henry de Boune, an English knight, who rode about a bowshot in advance of his companions, recognised the king, and galloped forward to attack him... There was an interval of breathless suspense, but it lasted only a moment; for as the English knight came in full career, the king parried the spear, and raising himself in his stirrups as he passed, with one blow of his battle-axe laid him dead at his feet, by almost cleaving his head in two...

All this passed so quickly, that the contest between Randolph and Clifford was still undecided; but Douglas, as he drew near to his friend's rescue, perceived that the English had by this time begun to waver, and that disorder was rapidly getting into their ranks. Commanding his men, therefore, to halt, "Let us not", cried he, "diminish the glory of so redoubtable an encounter, by coming in at the end to share it. The brave men that fight yonder without help will soon discomfit the enemy." And the result was as Douglas had foreseen; for Randolph, who quickly perceived the same indications, began to press the English cavalry with repeated charges and increasing fury, so that they at length entirely broke, and fled in great disorder.

p.118 ...From the result of these two attacks, and especially from the defeat of Clifford, Bruce drew a good augury, and cheerfully congratulated his soldiers on so fair a beginning... As the day was far spent, he held military council of his leaders... He pointed out to them that everything in the approaching battle, which was to determine whether Scotland was to be free or enslaved, depend on their own steady discipline and deliberate valour... He promised that the heirs of all who fell should receive their lands free, and without the accustomed feudal fine; and he assured them, with a determined and cheerful countenance, that if the orders he had now given were obeyed they might confidently look forward to victory....

On Monday, the 24th of June, at the first break of day, the Scottish king confessed, and along with his army heard mass. The solemn service was performed by Maurice, the Abbot of Inchaffray, upon eminence in front of their line...

...[p.119] When Edward approached near enough, and observed the Scottish army drawn up on foot, and their firm array and determined countenance, he expressed surprise, and turning to Umfraville, asked him, "If he thought these Scots would fight?" Umfraville replied that they assuredly would; and he then advised Edward, in stead of an open attack, to pretend to retreat behind his encampment, upon which he was confident, from his old experience in the Scottish wars, that the enemy would break their array, and rush on without order or discipline, so that the English army might easily attack and overwhelm them... but Edward fortunately disdained his counsel. At this moment the Abbot of Inchaffray, barefooted, and holding a crucifix aloft in his hand, walked slowly along the Scottish line; and as he passed, the whole army knelt down, and prayed for a moment with the solemnity of men who felt it might be their last act of devotion. "See," cried Edward, "They are knelling- they ask mercy!" "They do, my liege,' replied Umfraville, "but it is from God, not from us. Trust me, yon men will win the day, or die upon the field." "Be it so then," said Edward, and immediately commanded the charge to be sounded... The [p.120] English cavalry attempting, by repeated charges, to break the line of the Scottish spearmen, and they standing firm in their array, and presenting on every side a serried front of steel, caused a shock and melee which is not easily described; and the slaughter was increased by the remembrance of many years of grievous injury and obsession, producing, on the part of the Scots, an exasperation of feeling and an eager desire of revenge. At every successive charge the English cavalry lost more men, and fell into greater confusion than before; and this confusion was infinitely increased by the confined nature of the ground and the immense mass of their army. The Scottish squares, on the other hand, were light and compact, though firm; they moved easily, altered their front at pleasure, and suited themselves to every emergency of the battle... At this time Barbour, whose account of battle is evidently taken from eye-witnesses, describes the field as exhibiting a terrific spectacle. "It was awful", says he, "to hear the

noise of these four battles fighting in a line,- the clang of arms, the shouts of the knights as they raised their war-cry; to see the flight of the arrows, which maddened the horses; the alternate sinking and rising of the banners, and the ground slippery with gore, and covered with shreds of armour, broken spears, pennons, and rich scarfs, torn and soiled with blood and clay; and to listen to the groans of the wounded and the dying." ... At this critical moment there appeared over the little hill, which lay between the field and the baggage of the Scottish army, a large body of troops marching apparently in firm array towards the field. This spectacle, which was instantly believed to be a reinforcement proceeding to join the Scots, although it was nothing more than the sulters and camp-boys hastening to see the battle, spread dismay amidst the ranks of the English; and King Robert, whose eye was everywhere, to perceive and take advantage of the slightest [p.121] movement in his favour, put himself at the head of his reserve, and raiding his *ensenye,* or war-cry, furiously pressed on the enemy. It was this last charge, which was followed up by the advance of the whole line, that decided the day; the English hitherto, although wavering had preserved their array, now broke into disjoined squadrons; part began to quit the field, and no efforts of their leaders could restore order... Multitudes of English were drowned when attempting to cross the river forth... Thirty thousand of the English were left dead upon the field, and amongst these two hundred knights and seven hundred esquires. A large body of Welsh fled, under the command of Sir Maurice Berklay, but the greater of them were slain, or taken prisoners, before they reached England.

Such also might have been the fate of the King of England himself, had Bruce been able to spare a sufficient body of cavalry to follow up the chase... When Douglas, therefore, proposed to pursue the king, he could obtain no more than sixty horsemen... [p.122] Edward at last gained the castle of Dunbar, where he was hospitably received by the Earl of March, and from which he passed by sea to Berwick.

p.123: Such was the great battle of Bannockburn, interesting above all others which have been fought between the then rival nations, if we consider the issue which hung upon it; and glorious to Scotland, both in the determined courage with which it was disputed by the troops, the high military talents displayed by the king and his leaders, and the amazing disparity between the numbers of the combatants. Its consequences were in the highest degree important. It put an end for ever to all hopes upon the part of England of accomplishing the conquest of her sister country. The plan, of which we can discern the foundations as far back as the reign of Alexander III, and for the furtherance of which the first Edward was content to throw away so much of treasure and blood, was put down in the way in which all such schemes ought to be defeated- by the strong hand of free-born men, who were determined to remain so; and the spirit of indignant resistance to foreign power, which had been awaken by Wallace, but crushed for a season by the dissensions of a jealous nobility, was concentrated by the master-spirit of Bruce, and found fully adequate to overwhelm the united military energies of a kingdom, far superior to Scotland in all that constituted military strength. Nor have the consequences of this victory been partial or confined. Their duration throughout succeeding centuries of Scottish history and Scottish liberty, down to the hour in which this is written, cannot be questioned; and without launching out into any inappropriate field of historical speculation, we have only to think of the most obvious consequences which must have resulted from Scotland becoming a conquered province of England; and it wish for proof, to fix our eyes on the present condition of Ireland, in order to feel the reality of all that we owe to the victory at Bannockburn, and to the memory of such men as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas.

AppendixE
List of the works of the art purchased for the RAPFAS for the year 1848-49[1]

The titles of paintings	*Pound*		
Ellangowan	120	0	0
A Highland Stronghold	100	0	0
Scene on the Island of Inchmurran, Loch Lomond	100	0	0
A Witch led to Execution	90	0	0
Lorenzo and Jessica	85	0	0
A Scene on the Carrara Mountains	70	0	0
Glencoe	70	0	0
Wooing	65	0	0
A Visit of Mercy	50	0	0
Scene in Novar Deer Forest	50	0	0
Crossing the River Acheron, a sketch from Dante	40	0	0
Peggy and the Gentle Shepherd	40	0	0
Tantallon Castle	40	0	0
The Village Belle	40	0	0
Balmoral on the Dee, the Forest residence of Her Majesty Queen	30	0	0
Mill Dam, on the Tyne	30	0	0
Scene in the Island of Madeira	30	0	0
Study in Windsor Forest	30	0	0
View on the Mause, Moonlight	30	0	0
The Little Sick Scolar	30	0	0
Water-mill, near the Pass of Lenny	30	0	0
Aberlady Bay	30	0	0
A Weary Pilgrim in sight of Rome	25	0	0
Bust on Marble, Haidee	25	0	0
Highland Reaper's Return	25	0	0
Scene on the West Coast of Inverness-shire	25	0	0
Shylock	25	0	0
The Ballad	25	0	0
Cattle Crossing a Brook	20	0	0
An Autumn Morning	20	0	0
In Windsor Great Park	20	0	0
Sea Shore, Berwickshire	20	0	0
The Debtor ans his Child	20	0	0
The Old Shed	20	0	0
Turf Gatherers, at Glencoe	20	0	0
Island on the Dee	18	0	0
Tantallon	18	0	0
The Gambler's Wife	18	0	0
The Guard-horse Door	17	0	0
The Lost Breakfast	15	0	0
Moorland Scene, Argyleshire	15	0	0
Derwent Water	12	0	0

[1] Taken from RAPFAS, *Report by the Committee of Management* (Edinburgh, 1849)

Landscape	12	0	0
View near the Lake of Landberries, North Wales	12	0	0
The Patient Supplicant	12	0	0
Harverst Time in the Higlands	12	0	0
The Dilemma	10	0	0
Jonathan Oldbuck	10	0	0
Road Scene, Warsop, Nottighamshire	10	0	0
The Portland Vase	10	0	0
The Cottage Girl	10	0	0
The Barricade at Pont St Michel, Paris, 1848	8	0	0
Forest Scene	8	0	0
A Hebrew Scribe	7	0	0
The Wayfarers	5	0	0
Sketch Between Lochs Rannoch and Lydoch	5	0	0
Sketch of Balachulish, and Entrance to Glencoe	5	0	0
Rowden Church	4	0	0
View on the Water of Leith	3	0	0

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ELH = English Literary History
HJ = Historical Journal
P&P = Past and Present
SH = Social History
SHR = Scottish Historical Review

Primary Sources

A. Chapbooks

Anon., *An abstract of the bloody massacre in Ireland, Acted at the Instigation of the Jesuits, priests and friars, who were chief Promoters of these horrible murders; prodigious Cruelties, barbarous villainies, and inhuman practices, executed by the Irish papists upon the English protestants, in the year, 1641. And intended to have been acted over again, on Sabbath day, 9th Dec, 1688. But, by the wonderful Providence of God, was prevented.* (Glasgow, 1787)

------, *The Battle of Bannockburn; An Old Heroic Ballad Fought on the 24th of June, 1314, by King Robert Bruce, with an army of 30,000, against King Edward II with an army of 300,00 men* (Edinburgh, n. d.)

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------, *Bonaparte's garland. To which are added, My apron deary. The soldier's farewel. A patriotic song. Sweet Robin's elopement. My trim-built wherry. Drive me not to despair* (Glasgow, 1804)

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------, *Carle now the King's come; composed on the occasion of his majesty, King George IV's Visit to Scotland, In August, 1822. In two parts* (Stirling, 1822)

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------, *Five Favourite Songs, The triumph of Reform, While o'er the rising Moon, The Burial of Sir John Moore, The Pigeon, Dinna ask me gin I lo'e ye* (Newton-Stewart, n. d.)
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------, *The gude Wallace; a ballad to which is added Lord Thomas Stuart* (Glasgow, n. d.)
------, *The Happy revolution by King William, 1688. To which are added, now or never, Britain's monitor, advice to the fair sex, let's be jovial fill your glasses, Sylvia's charms* (n. p., n. d.)
------, *The Harp of Old Ossian; or Caledonia Triumphant. To which are added, The resolute lady; or Fortunate Footman, and The Rock and a wee Pickle Tow* (Glasgow, 1803)
------, *Hearts of oak for ever: or, A round of British tars. To which are added, The jolly farmer. A song in praise of Admiral Duncan. The taylor's downfal. Britain's alarm. Arrived at Portsmouth* (Glasgow, 1801)
------, *The Highland Piper's Advice to drinkers to which are added, Home sweet sweet home, Wallace's Lament, Connel and Flora, Here is the glen, Oh hey Johny lad, and Charlie is my DARLING* (Airdrie, 1820)
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------, *A New Song Between Wilks and Forbes* (n. p., n. d.)
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------, *The old man out witted or the fortune lovers. To which are added, Thro' the wood laddie, How happy the soldier, The marriage act, Friendship's a jewel* (Glasgow, 1804)
------, *A Patriotic song, or Bonaparte will be here. To which is added, A New Song, in favour of our Militia* (Aberdeen, n. d.)
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